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THE MISSION OF CENTRAL MISSOURI

1837—1861

I. ST. JOSEPH'S RESIDENCE, NEW WESTPHALIA

In the autumn of 1837 Father Verhaegen, Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Missouri, while returning to St. Louis from the Kickapoo Mission near Fort Leavenworth, visited a colony of German emigrants, most of them from Westphalia, who had settled not far from Jefferson City on the Maries River about four miles above its confluence with the Osage.¹ Here he found residing with the emigrants a Catholic priest, the Rev. Henry Meinkmann, who had accompanied some of them from Germany, but without having obtained the customary letters of dismissal from the bishop of his diocese. Moreover, having failed to apply for jurisdiction to the Bishop of St. Louis, in whose territory he was now residing, he was disqualified from exercising the sacred ministry and, as a matter of fact, made no attempt to do so, but confined himself to the simple duties of school-teacher to the children of the emigrants. Some time after his return to St. Louis, Father Verhaegen presented Father Meinkmann's case to Bishop Rosati, who in November 1837 granted the priest permission to exercise the ministry as resident pastor of New Westphalia Settlement, the latter having previously written to his former bishop, Mgr. Droste of Munster, for the canonical exeat customary in the case of priests withdrawing from one diocese into another. Father Meinkmann thereupon assumed spiritual charge of the Westphalia Catholics who built

¹ According to a manuscript note in the Archdiocesan Archives of St. Louis, the first priest to visit New Westphalia settlement was Father Christian Hoecken, S.J., who celebrated Mass there probably as early as 1835. However, the baptismal records for his Central Missouri excursions of 1835 and 1836, though revealing his presence at Jefferson City and Coteau-dessein in June, 1835, show no baptisms among the German settlers on Maries Creek (*Registre des Baptêmes pour la Mission du Missouri, 1832*). Father Cornelius Walters, S.J., one of the "travelling missionaries" of St. Charles, Mo., is also mentioned as having followed Father C. Hoecken in ministering to the settlers in question. Apart from Father Meinkmann, the first priest whose presence among them is vouched for by contemporary record is Father Verhaegen, whose visit in the autumn of 1837 is referred to in the text. "The Germans are most numerous in the neighborhood of Jefferson City. People have assured us there are almost fifty Catholic families there. They are pious and in better circumstances than those of Washington." Verhaegen à Rosati, November 17, 1837. It may be noted here that the first priest known to have visited the Catholics up the Missouri River was Father Charles De La Croix, who officiated at Franklin, Howard County, in 1819.

The first recorded death in the *Liber Defunctorum* of St. Joseph's Parish, Westphalia, is that of Gaspar Anthony Linneman, December 4, 1836. The burial was in St. Louis on December 6. Mary Josephine Linneman died February 3, 1837, and in default of a Catholic cemetery was buried in unconsecrated ground.

him a small wooden chapel, named for St. John the Baptist, on the north side of the Maries River.²

In 1835, two years earlier than the incidents recorded in the preceding paragraph, a party of Catholics from Westphalia in Germany, many of them of considerable education, had come up the Osage river and settled on the Big Maries, an affluent of the Osage river. Dr. Bruns, a physician, together with a brother of his, located at the bend of the Maries, where the town of Westphalia was later laid out, while Messrs. Nacke, Hesse, Schroeder, Gramatica, Kolks and Kaiser took up land in the immediate vicinity. They were followed in a few months by the families Zellerhoff, Fennewald, Schwarze, Westermann, Bartmann and Geisberg. Some of the emigrants, it would appear, had hoped to establish or associate themselves in some way with an institution of learning in Central Missouri, but the primitive conditions they encountered soon disillusioned them and some of their number returned to Germany. Among these was a Mr. Hesse, who in 1838 sketched a valuable map of the Maries river region indicating the respective places of settlement of the German emigrant families. In the course of 1836 Dr. Bruns and Mr. Bartmann opened the first store in the locality, a picture of which appears on the Hesse map.³

The project of a Jesuit residence in the interior of Missouri had been under consideration for some time previous to the visit of Father Verhaegen to the Westphalia emigrants in the autumn of 1837. The eighteen or more Catholic stations scattered along both sides of the Missouri River as far as Booneville above Jefferson City were, during the period 1828-1838, visited four or five times a year by the Jesuits of St. Charles in missionary circuits averaging from four to six weeks' duration. But such arrangement was not by any means calculated to meet effectively the spiritual needs of the territory in question; it

² Father Henry Meinkmann of the diocese of Münster in Germany was ordained in 1829 at Lucerne in Switzerland. For three years prior to his coming to America in 1836, he exercised the ministry at Hinsbeck in Münster. On relinquishing this post he obtained commendatory letters from the curé of Hinsbeck; but, on soliciting a document of like tenor from the Vicar-General of the diocese of Münster, was assured by that official, apparently in good faith, that no credentials other than those furnished by the curé of Hinsbeck would be found necessary in America. Father Meinkmann applied to Bishop Rosati for faculties in April 1837. Father Helias, who became acquainted with the peculiar circumstances in which Father Meinkmann was placed and who speaks of him as "that Israelite in whom there is no guile," induced Father Verhaegen in November, 1837, to lay the case before Bishop Rosati: "The Germans of Westphalia, such is the name they give to their colony, said many fine things about the good priest of whom Father Helias speaks; but those of more influence among them observed to me that he would not suit, as he could not wield over them the authority and influence which the Sacred Ministry requires and this for the reason that he has resided so long among them without the usual powers of a priest, merely as a school-teacher etc." Verhaegen à Rosati, November 17, 1837. Cf. also Meinkmann ad Rosati, April 13, 1837 (*Archdiocesan Archives of St. Louis*); Helias à Verhaegen, November 15, 1837; *Litterae Annuae*, 1838.

³ *History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries and Osage Counties*, p. 679, Chicago, 1889. "From the mouth of the Maries up the following names appear: Dohmen, Messerschmidt, Scheulen, Hoecyway, Colson, Kunermann, Zellerhoff, H. Huber, Höcker, Hesse (jetzt Bössen), Geisberg, Gramatica, Dr. Bruns (at site of Westphalia); on the west fork, David Bruns, Herman Bruns, Fellups and Hilt; on the east fork, Ahrez, Huber, Linne-mann, Cons, Hesler and Schwarz; on the west uplands, Ahrez, Clarenbach, Zurmegede, Chipley (Shipley), Carl Huber, Nacke and Fennewald; on the northeast uplands, F. Schwarze, Wilson, Lee (Smith's Postoffice) and the McDaniels. It will be seen that those to the north-east on the map are Americans. On the map, too, is a cut of the first loghouse at Westphalia, built by Dr. Bruns. . . . There had been a few of these stations as early as 1825." *Id.* p. 635. A copy of Hesse's book, *Das westliche Nordamerika in besonderer Beziehung auf die deutschen Einwanderer in ihren landwirthschaftlichen, Handels- und Gewerbeverhältnissen*, Paderborn, 1838, is in the library of the Jesuit residence of St. Joseph's, St. Louis.

was, perforce, provisional only, pending the establishment of a centrally located headquarters for the missionaries. Already in 1836 the author of the Annual Letters of the Missouri Mission pointed to the Catholic settlement of eighty souls on "St. Mary's Creek," the Westphalia settlement above referred to, as a likely place for a Jesuit residence. Partly, therefore, to supply the spiritual wants of the growing Catholic emigrant population of Osage and Gasconade Counties, and partly to secure a missionary center for the Fathers from which they could conveniently attend the various Catholic stations of Central Missouri, Father Verhaegen, with the consent of Bishop Rosati, decided to open a residence on Maries Creek. April 23, 1838, at a meeting of the Superior with his official advisers, it was determined that "Father Helias and Brother Morris be sent to the station generally known as Westphalia settlement near Jefferson City."

Father Helias, who was thus commissioned to take in hand the projected residence, is a figure of more than usual interest in the pioneer history of Missouri. Ferdinand Benoit Marie Guislain Helias d'Huddeghem came of a noble Flemish family, having been born August 3, 1796, at Ghent in Belgium in the Prinzen Hof, the same house in which the Emperor Charles the Fifth first saw the light of day.⁴ As a student at the Jesuit College of Roulers in Belgium, he counted Father Van Quickenborne among his professors. He entered the Society of Jesus in his native town, Ghent, finished his novitiate at Montrouge in France, and was transferred thence to the college of Brieg in Switzerland. From there he came to the United States in 1833, where he spent the two following years in the newly erected Maryland Province, being employed in various charges, among others that of Assistant-Master of Novices. Transferred to the Missouri Mission in 1835 by order of the General, Father Roothaan, he arrived at St. Louis University August 22 of that year. Here in the course of the three following years, he taught French, German, and on occasion Canon Law and Moral Theology, and was, besides, employed as pastor of the German Catholics of North St. Louis, whom he began to organize into the future St. Joseph's parish.

Father Helias left St. Louis for his new destination May 3, 1838. An entry in the house-diary of St. Louis University chronicles the event:

"May 3. Father Helias set out from this house to take in hand a mission in a place called Lisle-town, a German settlement.⁵ In that man burns a truly divine zeal, for courageously has he accepted the task imposed on him, an arduous one withal, as there are heartburnings and dissensions to be healed before any good can be accomplished among the people. A church and presbytery, both of logs, have been erected in the place."⁶

⁴ Lebrocqy, *Vie du R. P. Helias D'Huddeghem de la Compagnie de Jesus*. Gand, 1878, pp.

⁵ "In 1831 Benjamin Lisle started a settlement named after him, Lisle-town, at the head of the Maries Creek. The first post-office in Osage County was here. Owing to the growth of the neighboring Westphalia, Lisletown proved a failure." Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri*, (?) The post-office was transferred about 1838 from Lisletown to Westphalia, Dr. Bernard Bruns, the Catholic doctor of the place, being appointed postmaster.

Father Helias was accompanied on his journey up the Missouri River by Fathers De Smet, Eysvogels and Verhaegen and Brother Claessens. Father De Smet was on his way to Council Bluffs, Father Eysvogels and Brother Claessens were destined for the Kickapoo Mission, while Father Verhaegen was to make an official visitation of the Kickapoo Mission. A fellow-passenger of the Jesuits was Captain Sutter, noted Santa Fe trader and the future discoverer of the California gold-fields. The steamer coming to a dead stop at least twice, owing to the complete collapse of her machinery, Father Helias at length took to land and made the last stages of his journey on horseback. He arrived on May 11, at Côte-sans-dessein, a Creole settlement on the left bank of the Missouri in Calloway County, near the mouth of the Osage River and said Mass there in a private house. The Sunday following, (May 12), the Fourth after Easter and Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph, he celebrated Mass in Westphalia and was duly installed as pastor of the German Catholic congregation.⁷ To the log-church, which his parishioners had begun to build the year before, he gave the name of St. Joseph. Several considerations determined this choice as his biographer informs us. First, there was the circumstance that his dear friend, Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, bore the name Joseph. Moreover, Father Helias had always cherished a particular devotion to the foster-father of the Savior, as the patron of his own Belgium and of the German Empire of the Middle Ages. Finally, even under the Spanish regime, the district laid out as Gasconade County had been organized into an administrative unit known as the Parish of St. Joseph, with headquarters at Côte-sans-dessein.⁸

Father Helias at once took in hand the cultivation of the extensive spiritual field entrusted to his care, Father Meinkmann at first assisting him in his labors. The latter appears to have been a man of excellent intentions, but without tact in dealing with the numerous parties of German emigrants that made up his congregation. Among the things charged against him was that he confined his ministrations to the group of Rhinelanders whom he had accompanied from Germany and neglected the other portions of his flock, the Westphalians in particular taking umbrage at the line of action followed by their pastor. As there seemed little prospect of healing the differences between Father Meinkmann and the Catholics of New Westphalia, Bishop Rosati transferred him in 1839 to the newly established parish

⁶ Helias, *Mémoires du Rd. P. Ferdinand Helias D'Huddeghem prêtre missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus en Amérique* (Ms.). Contains prefatory letter addressed to Father De Smet from Taos, Cole County, Mo., St. Francis Xavier, 1867. According to the article in *Missouri Historical Review*, 5:87 (July 1915) Fathers Helias and De Smet left St. Louis for Westphalia on a trip of investigation April 4, 1838. On April 30, Father Helias blessed the marriage of Gerhard Aufderheide and Anna Mary Schlaeuermann, the first recorded in the Westphalia marriage register. Only three days after, May 3, occurred Father Helias's second departure from St. Louis for Westphalia.

⁷ Lebrocquy, *op. cit.*, p. 185. "13a Maii Dominica IVa Post Pascham, Festum Patronii Sti Joseph titular. Westphaliae instalavi me primum huius Paroeciae Pastorem primumque Sacrum dixi." Memorandum of Father Helias indorsed "*Dies Memorabiles F. Mae Helias S.J.*"

⁸ Lebrocquy, *op. cit.*, p. 206. The statement that a civil district or parish named for St. Joseph was laid out in Central Missouri under the Spanish regime is not supported by any known historical evidence.

of St. Francis Borgia, in Washington, Franklin County.⁹

Although the colony of Westphalia emigrants settled on Maries Creek went by the name of New Westphalia Settlement prior even to the advent of Father Helias, the foundation proper of the town, known first as New Westphalia and later simply as Westphalia, appears to have been laid in 1838 under the immediate direction of Father Helias himself.¹⁰ In the year named Fathers Verhaegen, DeTheux and Smedts acquired from Francis Geisberg for a nominal consideration of five dollars, forty acres of land on the left bank of the Maries River. Shortly after his arrival Father Helias, with his Superior's approval, after reserving fourteen acres to himself as a means of support, divided the remaining twenty-six into lots which he offered to the mechanics and laborers of the German colony, farmers being excluded from the offer. They were to be given a ninety-nine year lease to their respective lots, which they were to hold rent free the first five years, and afterwards on an annual payment of two or five dollars, according to the value of the lot. The money derived from this source was to go to the maintenance of the church. Subsequently, to remove all ground of invidious gossip, the lots were deeded over to the tenants in fee-simple. Such was the beginning of the town of New Westphalia.¹¹

The log-church which served the needs of the Catholics of New Westphalia until the construction of a fine stone church in 1848 belonging to that type of architectural makeshift which includes both church and presbytery under a single roof. Bishop Rosati blessed it on the occasion of his first visit to New Westphalia October 14, 1838, on which occasion he administered Confirmation to thirty-eight mem-

⁹ *Residentiae Sti Francisci Xaverii Centralis Exordium et Progressus, 1838-1848* (Helias Mss), p. 3. Father Helias refers to Father Meinkmann as *vir ceteroquin simplex et cordatus*.

¹⁰ Father Meinkmann's letter of April 13, 1837, to Bishop Rosati is dated from "New Westphalia Settlement."

¹¹ *Litterae Annuae, 1838*. The deed of transfer of the Westphalian property from Francis Geisberg to P. J. Verhaegen, Theodore De Theux and J. B. Smedts under date of June 25, 1838, was recorded at Mount Sterling, Gasconade County, on July 5 of the same year. According to the account in Goodspeed's *History of Moniteau etc.* Geisberg entered 200 acres of public land on the Maries, 40 of which he subsequently donated for the erection of a Catholic church. Cf. in this connection Father Helias's Latin verse,
*Atque novae fundamina fiximus Urbis
Westphaliae.*

The forty acres conveyed by Francis Geisberg is described in the deed of transfer as the N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 26, Tp. 43, Range 10 W. A forty foot street (Main Street) cut it diagonally from Southeast to Northeast. The lots appear to have been originally leased to the settlers for a ninety-nine year term (1839-1938). The conditions of the lease were recorded by Father Helias in a Baptismal Register now preserved among the records of St. Francis Xavier Church, Taos, Cole County, Mo. According to this document, the town of Westphalia was laid out in two divisions, the second division being the property of a Mr. Gramatica. Father Helias's forty acres did not therefore comprise the entire town-site of Westphalia. The tenant of Father Helias's lots promised "to keep his house in good condition, to build a post-fence in a straight direction along the street and to hold in his house or on his message no people of bad morality reputed as a nuisance and a public disturber of the people."

All of the forty acres appears to have been sold by Father Helias with the exception of the one acre on which the old church, subsequently used as a school-house, was standing in 1861. The property on which stand the present church, convent and school was purchased from various parties. The present stone church was built on a lot acquired September 18, 1847, from Mrs. Gertrude Evans, a widow, whose skilful nursing saved Father Helias's life when the doctors had given him up.

bers of the parish.¹² The prelate preached on this day in English, while Father Verhaegen, his companion in the visitation of the diocese which he was then performing, also addressed the congregation in English.¹³ A school-building, also of logs, was put up within a year or two of Father Helias's arrival. The duties of school-teacher were discharged for a while by Father James Buschotts, who joined Father Helias July 27, 1838. Father Buschotts remained in New Westphalia to September 23 of the following year, when he was transferred to the new Jesuit residence of St. Francis Borgia in Washington, Missouri. Father Helias was then left without an assistant priest until the arrival in 1846 of Father James Cotting.¹⁴

Ecconomic conditions among the German settlers of Osage County in its pioneer period were extremely crude.¹⁵ The journey to America had depleted the purse of most of the emigrants; as a consequence, they often were without capital in money or tools with which to begin the struggle for existence in the New World. They were thus forced to borrow; but they found the American settlers who had preceded them into the wilderness, ready to lend. "I have often heard," a Westphalia pastor, Father Nicolas Schlechter, S.J., wrote in 1884, "several German families saying that when they came to the county they were in great poverty and obliged to beg, and that for entire weeks and months; but they invariably added: 'The Americans were good; they never grew tired of our asking, but simply said: 'take it.'"¹⁶

Good, strong wagons were the thing the farmers needed most of all. Though these could be obtained in St. Louis, money was scarce and the cost of shipping the wagons all the way to Westphalia and other settlements in Osage County was prohibitive. Necessity, however, suggested to the farmers the invention of a type of home-made wagon which for years answered all their needs of transportation.

¹² "From Jefferson City we went to New Westphalia, 15 miles, in Gasconade County, a German Congr. F. Helias with F. Buschotts reside there and take care of the Congrs. of Jefferson City and others. I blessed the church last Sunday, gave confirmation to 26 persons, blessed the Graveyard and gave confirmation the next day to 9 persons more." Rosati to Timon, Oct. 20, 1838. Cf. Lebrocquy, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-207 for some interesting details in connection with the blessing of the church. "Le souvenir de cette grande journée ne s'effaçà jamais de la mémoire du P. Hélias."

¹³ *Litterae Annuae*, 1838.

We subjoin here Bishop Rosati's own account of the event as he described it in his *Diary*:

"October 14. XIXth Sunday after Pent. At 8 a. m. said Mass in the church and gave communion to the people. At 10, we assembled in the church, which I solemnly blessed according to the rite described in the Roman Ritual. Then Father Buschotts celebrated Mass solemnly; after the Gospel I preached in English, for most of the Germans know this language, and there were present a number of American protestants. After Mass and the singing of the Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, I gave the sacrament of Confirmation to twenty-six persons of both sexes, whom I exhorted to perseverance. Finally Father Verhaegen preached in English on Catholic Religion.

At 3 p.m. we assembled at the church, whence we came to the adjacent cemetery, which I blessed solemnly according to the Roman Pontifical. Returned to the church, I talked to the people about the blessing just performed, the pious thoughts which the sight of the cemetery must rouse in the mind of the Catholics, to the persons to whom ecclesiastical burial is denied; and I requested Father Helias to repeat in German what I had said in English. At length, in order to return thanks to God for the benefit conferred upon this parish, we sang the *Te Deum*."

¹⁴ *Residentiae Sti Francisci Xaverii* etc. p. 8.

¹⁵ Osage county was organized out of Gasconade county, January 29, 1841.

¹⁶ Father Schlechter was pastor in Westphalia, 1882-83 and in Loose Creek 1883-84.

Not a nail or bit of iron was used in the construction; wooden bolts held together beam, cross-beam, shaft and axle-tree. But the wheels were the most characteristic feature of this singular conveyance. These were of one piece, being circular-shaped slices from the trunks of huge sycamore trees. We may well believe that these curious wagons, as they were drawn along by plodding oxen, made a hideous clatter, proverbial throughout the county long after the pioneer stage of its history had come to an end.

II. MISSIONARY EXCURSIONS 1838-1842

Father Helias had scarcely arrived at New Westphalia when he began from there, as base of operation, the series of periodic missionary excursions which were to accomplish so much for the upbuilding of Catholicity in Central Missouri. Eleven counties, Franklin, Gasconade, Osage, Cole, Moniteau and Cooper on the south side of the Missouri and Warren, Montgomery, Callaway, Boone and Howard on the north side, were included in the area traversed.¹⁷

He said his first Mass at New Westphalia May 13, 1838. On May 24, Feast of the Ascension, he officiated at French Village and the day after at Côte-sans-dessein, where a number of adults made their First Holy Communion. Saturday he was at Hibernia or Hibe-

¹⁷ A manuscript account compiled by Father Helias in 1838 (*Excursiones Missionis Centralis*) contains a census of the Catholic stations along the Missouri with the names in many cases of the persons in whose houses divine services were held. The figures indicate the number of families. *South Side of the Missouri*: Manchester, St. Louis Co., 10; Washington, Franklin Co., (Uhlenbrouck's house near the town) 118; Burbus, Franklin Co., 11; Henry Reed's Settlement, Franklin Co. 5; Bailey's Creek, Gasconade Co., (Jh. Logsdon), 22; French Village, (Louis Leblanc's house near the Osage River), 24; Loose Creek, (Aug. Pequinet), ; Cadet [Cade?] Creek (J. B. Bonnot), 25 (services in these two places generally held in the district school-house); across the Osage at Herman Nieters, Liberty Township, 20; Jefferson City, (Henry Haar's tavern [*publica taberna*], the missionary lodging with Mr. Withnell, Architect of the Capitol); Barry's Settlement, Cole Co., (P. Barry), 10; Moniteau River (F. Joseph Weber), 40; Booneville (Anthony Fuchs [Fox] and Peter Joseph), 15; Pilot's Grove (on the prairie at Romersbergers [Anthony, Remsberger]), 15; near Georgetown, Pettis Co., (Dr. Bruhl). *North Side of the Missouri*: Fayette and Chariton, (Mr. Post) 5; Columbia, Boone Co., (Mr. Lynch, Jr., and outside the town, Mr. Lynch, Sr.), 13; Portland, (Priestly Gill), 8; Hancock Prairie, (John Shannon, 10; Côte-sans-dessein (Widow Roy), 20; Rocheport, 26 [families?]; Lay Creek, 34; Mount Pleasant, 30; Martinsville [Marthasville] opposite Washington, 3.

In another list mention is made of a congregation of Irish, perhaps Barry Settlement, near Marion, Cole Co., not to be identified, it would seem, with St. Patrick's congregation in Hibernia. Pisgah, Cooper Co., (house of John Fay) also occurs as one of the stations visited by Father Helias.

Father Helias's census of Catholic families in Central Missouri for April 1, 1839, is an historical document of value; it does not, however, include all the stations in the missionary's circuit. We reproduce it from the *Missouri Historical Review*, July, 1915, p. 85:

Westphalia: Bernard Bruns, Doctor of Medicine; Geisberg, Brockmann, Ottens, Gramatica, Walters, Schmitz, Otto, Debeis, Eppentof, Oldenlehre, Haler, Nacke, Bartmann, Eck, Knueve, Zellerhoff, Juchmann, Bose, Eckmeier, Kolks, Vennewald, Lueckenhoff, Meierpeter, Schuelen, Kregel, Dohmen, Stiefemann, Hagenbreck, Boessen, Linnemann, Goetzen, Arzt, Brockerhoff, Kern, Wilhaupt, Schwartze, Hasslag, Holtermann, Sudhoff, Borgmann, Kuess, J. Schater, Kolkmeier, Richters, Hart.

Jefferson City: Withnell, Hannan, Buz, Kramer, Tellmann, Monaghan, Ryan, Gilman, Corker, Bauerdict, Brand, Doherty.

Loose Creek: Monnier, Valentin, Cordonier, Brichaud, Besson, Saulnier, Stoffen, Farrell, Reed, Burbus.

French Village: Peter Goujon, Louis Goujon, Angelica Mercer, widow; Gleizer, Picqueur, Vincennes, Denoyer, Luison, Leblanc.

Côte-sans-dessein: Roye, Faye, Arnould, Nicholas, Renaud

Bailey's Creek: Logsdon, Simon, Welch, Howard, Folgs, Serpentin, Miller, Heth.

Portland: Priestly Gill.

Hancock Prairie: Joseph Shannon, Thomas Flood, Anna Catharina, widow of John Preis.

Columbia: Lynch and Kitt.

Booneville: Fuchs, Weler, Fis, Pecht, Fay, Morey, Dr. Heart, Rockwie, Briel.

New Franklin: Matthias Simon.

nium, some five miles to the northeast of Jefferson City.¹⁸ The next day, Sunday, May 27, he celebrated Mass for the first time in Jefferson City, in a private house, which is apparently still standing, being No. 325 High Street.

Nowhere was he given a heartier welcome than in Jefferson City.¹⁹ The Catholic population of the town consisted of about one hundred and fifty souls, chiefly German and Irish emigrants, most of whom were employed as laborers on the new Capitol building then in process of construction.²⁰ Father Helias spent a few days among these good people and afterwards revisited them regularly once a month. Before the close of 1838, sixteen hundred dollars had been collected among the Catholics for a church and school to be placed under the invocation of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Mr. John Withnell, architect of the Capitol and personally known to Father Helias, offered his professional services for the new edifice at a nominal charge. The Irish and German workmen employed on the Capitol also volunteered their help. The only difficulty that beset the venture was the lack of a suitable site. Mr. Charles Dwyer of St. Louis offered Father Helias one of the twelve lots which he owned in Jefferson City; but the property was too remote from the heart of the town to serve the purpose of a suitable church-site. However, a happy solution of the difficulty presented itself from a rather unexpected quarter. The old Capitol building, rendered unnecessary for public business by the construction of the new one, might perhaps be turned over to the Catholics for a church.

¹⁸ *Dies memorabiles* etc., Wetmore's *Gazetteer of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1837) lists Hibernia as a post-office of Callaway County. ("Holt's Settlement [Summit], Hibernia, on the C. and A. R. R. 20 miles south of Holton," Campbell, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 97). According to a *status animarum* for the Mission of Central Missouri compiled by Father Helias, "St. Patrick's Congregation in Hibernium" counted only ten souls in 1838-39, a number which has dwindled to five in 1849. On August 12, 1827, Father Van Quickenborne administered four baptisms at "Hibernia near Jefferson", among the recipients being Francis Pomponius Atticus Dillon, son of Patrick M. and Anna C. Nash, born June 1, 1824. *Baptismal Register*, St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Mo.

¹⁹ The first Catholic priest mentioned in contemporary records as having visited Jefferson City was Father Verhaegen, S.J., who preached a mission there in 1828. *Supra*, p. 157. A manuscript memorandum in the *Archdiocesan Archives*, St. Louis, states that he said Mass in Jefferson City in 1836. According to a sketch of Catholicity in Jefferson City in the *Missouri Volksfreund*, October 7, 1896, the first Mass in the place was celebrated by Father Felix Verreydt, S.J., in 1831. It is certain that Mass was said there at least as early as this date, though Father Helias in his *Dies Memorabiles* appears to lay claim to the honor of celebrating the first Mass in Jefferson City, May 27, 1838. Services on this occasion were held "in the large hall of the German Boarding House of Mr. Henry Haar," (Memorandum, *Archdiocesan Archives*, St. Louis), probably the house 325 High Street, still standing in 1896. Cf. *Missouri Volksfreund*, Oct. 7, 1896. The house of Gebhard Anthony Kramer "near the Capitol" is also mentioned by Father Helias as a place where he held services in his early visits to Jefferson City. *Supra*, p. 163, Note 17.

The earliest recorded baptisms in Jefferson City appear to be two performed by Father Christian Hoecken on June 18, 1835, when he baptized George Ward, son of Patrick Ward and Mary Dillon Ward, and Charles Julius Haebert, son of Caspar and Julia Haebert. *Registre des Baptêmes pour la Mission du Missouri*, 1832). Father Helias's first baptism in the town was that of Edmund Dougherty, son of Andrew and Helen Dougherty, May 26, 1838. The earliest Catholic burials in Jefferson City, as entered in the *Westphalia Liber Defunctorum*, are those of Richard O'Connor, September 11, 1838, and John O'Brien, September 15, same year; Father Helias being the officiating priest on both occasions.

²⁰ *Annuae Litterae*, 1838. *Residentiae S. Francisci Xaverii Centralis Exordium* etc. (Helias Mss.)

Bishop Rosati, assisted by Father Verhaegen, administered Confirmation in Jefferson City in October, 1838. "I gave confirmation in the Hall of an Hotel in Jefferson City to 11 persons on a week day: there are two hundred Catholics, not yet a church, but we have begun to make arrangements to have a decent one in stone. Mr. Withnell, who is building there the Capitol very kindly received us in his house: he will be of great service in the building of the church." Rosati to Timon, October 20, 1838 (*Archdiocesan Archives*, St. Louis).

The idea was taken up by some of the Catholic residents of Jefferson City, who secured a large number of signatures to a petition to this effect, even among the non-Catholic citizens. The petition was presented in due course of time to the Legislature. Here a resolution in its favor was carried in the Senate by a unanimous vote, but the same resolution going before the Lower House, was defeated by a majority of four. It was necessary, therefore, to look for another site. During all this time, hope was entertained by the Catholics of Jefferson City of having a Jesuit College or Academy in their midst. Father Verhaegen, Superior of the Missouri Mission, declined, however, to take any step in this direction, being too much pressed by the difficulties of the existing institutions of the Mission, to engage in any such perilous educational venture. But a church was a distinct need of the Catholics of the town and ground for a site having been purchased, a frame structure under the invocation of St. Ignatius Loyola was erected in 1841 and dedicated Easter Sunday, 1843. It continued to be served by Father Helias until the arrival in July, 1846, of Father P. Murphy, the first resident priest of Jefferson City.²¹

Father Helias was the first Catholic priest to minister to the inmates of the State penitentiary in Jefferson City.²² One instance, occurring in 1839, of his success in dealing with the prisoners may be cited here. A young Englishman, Henry Lane by name, of aristocratic connections and a one-time college student, at least so report had it, was under sentence of death. His desperate antecedents promised small hope of any spiritual impression being made upon him. Father Helias, however, undertook to prepare him for death with the result that the young man underwent a complete change of heart and went to his fate with the most edifying sentiments of faith and repentance. The crowd who gathered to witness the execution looked for a desperate struggle from the criminal when brought to the gallows. To their surprise, nothing of the kind occurred. On the contrary, he walked to the scaffold without handcuffs and with a crucifix in his hand, and the words of warning which he addressed to the spectators on the vice of drunkenness brought tears to the eyes of many. The breaking at the last moment of the hangman's rope when it was already around the neck of the condemned man failed to unnerve him. He persevered to the end in his pious sentiments, the sacred names of Jesus and Mary rising to his lips in the brief spell of agony that preceded death.²³

In the Creole settlements of Côte-sans-dessein and French Village Father Helias found the fruits of his ministry somewhat meagre, owing to the habitual religious indifference of the people.²⁴ He notes in

²¹ The *Status Animarum* etc., 1848-49 (Helias Mss.) gives the date 1841 for the building, at least in its initial stages, (*fundatio templi*), of the Jefferson City church. Father Helias's *Mémoires*, p. 54, fixes the date as 1842. The *Status Animarum*, compiled not later than 1850, is probably a safer guide on this point than the much later *Mémoires*. The church was dedicated Easter Sunday, 1843. "On Easter Sunday the neat frame church erected by Father Helias S.J. in the city of Jefferson was dedicated to Divine Worship under the invocation of St. Ignatius of Loyola." *Catholic Cabinet*, Vol. I, May 1843, p. 60.

²² *Status Animarum* etc. (Helias Mss.)

²³ *Litterae Annuae*, 1840.

²⁴ For notices of Côte-sans-dessein and French Village, cf. *supra* p. 163. Dauphine, later Bonnot's Mill, was a sort of second growth of French Village. St. Francis Regis was patron of the Côte-sans-dessein congregation.

his record for 1838 certain sudden and unhappy deaths among the more obdurate of the Creoles. One of their number felling an oak on Christmas Day, was crushed to pieces under the falling tree in the presence of his wife and mother. The Sunday following, a bitterly cold day, two men returning home from a tavern late at night in a drunken condition lost their way and were obliged to crawl along the ground on all fours in an effort to find the road. One of the men was frozen to death, the other nearly so, so that it was necessary to amputate his fingers and toes to save his life. Again, a woman of disedifying life who had listened to Father Helias preaching on the certainty of death, but without being moved to any attempt to amend her ways, was, on the very day after the sermon, suddenly stricken down. The lesson taught by these and other examples of what looked like summary divine punishment was not altogether lost on the inhabitants of French Village and Côte-sans-dessein. In pleasing contrast to the frivolous, irreligious ways of the latter was the strong faith and practical piety of a group of recently arrived French-Canadians of whom Father Helias makes mention, and who proposed to start a settlement of their own to be known as New Besançon. There is no record of such intention having been carried out.²⁵

A much higher level of Catholic faith and practice prevailed in the other stations, near and far, which Father Helias was accustomed to attend in his missionary circuit. The stations nearest to Westphalia he visited monthly, the more remote ones, twice and three times a year. Typical of the eagerness of the pioneer Catholic settlers of Central Missouri to welcome a priest in their midst was an incident that occurred at Portland, Callaway County, a town on the north bank of the Missouri some miles below Jefferson City. Here one day the Catholics of the vicinity began to assemble in a private house to listen to a sermon which Father Helias was announced to preach. So many, however, had gathered for the occasion that there was no possibility of accommodating them within the four walls of the house. The entire congregation thereupon withdrew to an adjoining field and here under a scorching August sun the missionary conducted divine service. It is recorded that just as Father Helias began to read the Gospel of the Sunday, a great cloud hid the sun from view and that at the very moment the services came to an end the sun reappeared and glared again with great intensity. The people of Portland were so impressed by Father Helias's visit to them on this occasion that one of their number was dispatched to St. Louis to offer Father Verhaegen, in the name of the rest, a purse of \$2000.00, together with five acres of land, as an inducement to the Superior to establish a Jesuit college in their town.²⁶

²⁵ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 8. *Residentia Sti Francisci Xaverii Centralis Exordium et Progressus*, 1838-48 (Helias Mss.).

²⁶ *Litterae Annuae*, 1839. Father Christian Hoecken S.J. baptized at Portland June 30, 1835, Mary Ann Gill, daughter of Priestly Gill and Mary Norris. *Registre des Baptêmes pour la Mission du Missouri*, 1832. Portland is in Callaway County on the Missouri River, twenty-four miles southeast of Fulton. At Hancock Prairie, also in Callaway County, a few miles from Portland, there was a small Catholic congregation.

Something of a clan-system developed among the German settlers as a consequence of their having arrived in Missouri in successive parties and from different districts of Germany. The emigrants from Westphalia and Hannover clustered together in and around New Westphalia in the western part of Osage county. Those from the Lower Rhine settled in the northern parts of the county around Loose Creek as a centre. Finally, the Bavarians took up land in the southern part of the county near the Gasconade river, their principal settlement being named Richfontain by Father Helias on account of the abundance of clear spring water found in the neighborhood. Besides the settlements named, all of which were within the limits of Osage county, there was a colony of Belgian and Hanoverian emigrants, numbering in all about two hundred souls, west of the Osage river in Cole county. It was here that Father Helias, in 1840, built his second church, that of St. Francis Xavier.

The first visit of Father Helias to this locality, where he was destined to make his home for the greater part of his career in Central Missouri, occurred on May 28, 1838, when he celebrated Mass in the house of one of the settlers, Mr. L. Nieters, there being no church at the time in the place.²⁷ Having secured ten acres of land centrally situated with reference to the German farmers of the neighborhood, he began to lay plans for the erection of a wooden church. The site, however, did not commend itself to a certain group among the parishioners, who advocated the purchase of a tract of government land forty acres in extent. But Father Helias insisted on the choice already made. The property he had secured lay within easy reach of both, Westphalia and Jefferson City, was near a public highway and had the advantage of an agreeable position on rising ground, with a fine spring of the coolest water at hand. Moreover, there was land enough for a presbytery and cemetery, both of which would have to be provided soon. Against the counter-proposition to build the church elsewhere, was the further objection that the site suggested besides being undesirable as a location, would have to be bought and that the money for this purpose would have to be borrowed: and, as Father Helias observes, "borrowed money and a foolish purchase make a sorry combination." The advocates, however, of a new site were insistent and even carried the case to St. Louis to Father Verhaegen, at that time Administrator of the diocese in the absence of Bishop Rosati in Europe. Happily, the controversy was adjusted and Father Helias was enabled to build the church in 1840 on the site he had chosen.²⁸

The village which grew up in the course of time around the church of St. Francis Xavier owed its origin, in a sense, to Father

²⁷ *Dies Memorabiles* (Helias Mss.)

²⁸ *Litterae Annuae*, 1840. The church property, a tract of ten acres, was conveyed by Henry and Gertrude Haar, June 5, 1840, the consideration being five dollars, to Fathers Verhaegen, De Theux and Smedts. It was in N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 6, Range 10, Township 43. The church and residence stood close to the south side of the Versailles state-road. The graveyard, one and a half acres, was purchased October 19, 1849, from John Anthony Eck.

Helias. As the ground on which the church stood had been acquired by Father Helias from Mr. Henry Haar, a contractor and builder, the village went for some time by the name of Haarville.²⁹ Later, it took the name of the post-office of the district, Taos, the post-office quarters being in close proximity to the church. Taos was three miles from Lisletown at the junction of the Osage and Maries rivers, six from the Missouri river and five from Jefferson City.³⁰ Father Helias thus describes the place in his *Memoires*. "There are no bilious fevers here as elsewhere, the parish buildings are more pretentious than in the other residences established by this missionary; in a word, the place makes a much better appearance. Moreover, the settlers succeed better here owing to the nearness of the State capital and of the railroad, by which they are enabled to ship their produce to all points in the state. The land has all been taken up and old farms sell at a high price, while the soil is less broken up and much more productive than on the other side of the Osage River."³¹

The same year, 1840, that saw the church of St. Francis Xavier built in Taos in Cole County, saw also the building of the church of the Sacred Heart at Richfountain, the picturesque name which Father Helias gave the Bavarian colony near the Gasconade River.³² Mass was said by Father Helias in the new church for the first time December 3, 1840.³³ In 1842 or earlier two hundred and fifty families who had emigrated from Bavaria to escape the unjust Bavarian laws concerning marriage settled in Richfountain.³⁴ Many couples among them had never been validly married at the time of their arrival in America, the government restrictions at home having made it impracticable for them to conform to the marriage laws of the Church. Father Helias, on learning this state of affairs, promptly corrected the defective unions of these poor emigrants. The parish of the Sacred Heart at Richfountain was destined to attain an excellence in piety and regularity of Christian practice which made it, in Father Helias's own words, "a model for all others."³⁵

The first years of Father Helias's life as a missionary priest in Central Missouri were crowded with adventure and thrilling incidents.

29 "Haarville, Cole Co., St. Francis Xavier—Rev. Ferdinand Helias. He visits also once a month St. Ignatius, Jefferson City; St. Joseph's Westphalia; Sacred Heart, Richfountain; Conception of the Blessed Virgin, Cade's Creek; and occasionally the Assumption of the B. V. Manitou Creek; Booneville, Pilot-Grove, Columbia, Hybernium, Cote-sans-dessein, French Village etc." *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1843.

30 "Taos, a post-office 5 miles south [east] of Jefferson City." Campbell, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 168.

31 *Memoires*, p. 53. Family-names of children confirmed at Taos by Bishop Rosati in the early forties include those of Schneider, Thessen, Kolb, Wolken, Hoffmeyer, Laux, Schwaller, Hoecken, Schell, Roecker, Ihler, Schulte, Neumeyer, Prenger, Rakers, Kerperin, Nieters, Bekel, Motschman, Sanning, Rohling, Hermann, Schnieders. *Missouri Historical Review*, July, 1915, p. 85.

32 "Un endoit d'eaux, Riche Fontaine." *Memoires*, p. 53. The land on which the church was built near his farm and opposite the "riche fontaine," was conveyed by John Stumpf and Elizabeth, his wife, February 2, 1843, for a consideration of five dollars to the authorities of the Missouri Vice-Province. The land was originally entered by a John Burns during the 'thirties. Cf. *History of Moniteau etc. Counties*, p. 682.

33 *Dies Memorabiles* (Helias Mss.) *Memoires*, p. 53.

34 Thus the *Memoires*, p. 54. Two hundred and fifty for the number of emigrant families is probably an overstatement.

35 *Memoires*, p. 54.

The country he moved about in was just emerging from a state of primitive nature. It was thinly settled and poorly provided with roads. To reach the stations yawning ravines and swollen streams had frequently to be crossed. It was no uncommon thing for the missionary to lose his way in the woods and spend the night under the open. Once, while riding in the dark, he and his horse fell headlong into a ditch, both, however, coming out of the accident without the slightest injury. Another time, crossing a stream together with his horse in a leaking boat, he had perforce to work desperately with the boatman to bale out the water and only the heroic efforts of the two kept the wretched craft from being swamped. A kindly Providence seemed ever on the alert to save the man of God from bodily harm.³⁶

A fellow Jesuit who entered into Father Helias's labors in Osage County has sketched the tradition of tireless missionary which he found current in the 'eighties among the German Catholics of Osage County.³⁷

"Father Helias was a remarkable man. I have often heard old people speak of him with enthusiasm. In their feelings towards him there is the reverence for the priest blended with the warmth of the friend. He, the man of noble birth, must have been possessed of great kindness so that his aristocratic manners became winning in the eyes of the simple peasantry; and his severe virtue must have been blended with great cordiality, so that people remote from asceticism, were cheered by his conversation, while they were instructed."

Father Helias's actual residence in New Westphalia lasted only four years from his arrival there in May, 1838. In the Spring of 1842 he closed the church and presbytery and returned to St. Louis. The year 1841 had been a particularly trying one. There was considerable sickness in the settlement, an epidemic of some or other contagious disease having lasted four months and left behind it numerous victims. Then there was a severe and protracted drought which entailed loss of crops and reduced the settlers to dire want. During these calamities Father Helias did his best to bring his stricken parishioners all the spiritual and temporal aid he could command, travelling sometimes one hundred and twenty miles to bring the dying the consolations of religion. Added to these trials was the opposition to his ministry which the good priest had to endure from some of his Westphalian parishioners. What the grounds of this opposition were is not clear from contemporary records. At all events, certain malicious persons sought to come between the Westphalian congregation and its pastor.³⁸ Their efforts were not unavailing. Father Helias notes sadly

³⁶ *Litterae Annuae*, 1840.

³⁷ Father Nicholas Schlechter in *Woodstock Letters*, 13:360.

³⁸ A sort of anti-clerical party or faction appears to have existed for a number of years among the German settlers, even Catholic, of Missouri. They were sometimes dubbed the Latinians from the circumstance that they had, so it was alleged, studied Latin in the German gymnasia before coming to America. It was seemingly a group of Latinians who fomented trouble against Father Helias. (*Woodstock Letters*, 13:23). "The epithet 'Latin farmers' has commonly been applied to the scholarly German settlers, who became quite numerous about the revolutionary periods of 1830 and 1848, a class of cultivated men, yet frequently unpractical, for whom manual labor proved a hard school of experience." Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 1:442.

in his *Historia Westphaliae* that some of his most devoted parishioners who had formerly stood by him in his difficulties were at length won over to the opposition, intimidated or bribed, he knew not which. He now took a distinctly pessimistic view of the future, declaring that the only hope of saving the Faith in Central Missouri lay in the two parishes of the Sacred Heart at Richfountain and of St. Francis Xavier in Cole County. The trouble culminated in Father Helias's giving up his post at Westphalia and retiring to St. Louis, after affixing to the church door a Latin distich of his own composition:

*Ardua qui quaerit, rubros cur currit ad Indos
Westphalam veniot, ardua cuncta dabunt.*³⁹

"Meanwhile," says Father Helias's narrative, "the church of St. Joseph stands deserted and closed against the wolves, a reproach to those who, though of the number of the sheep, have by contentions, subtlety of speech and ambition for things beyond them forced the pastor to retire, reluctantly withal and for only a brief spell—but Westphalia has ceased forever to be a residence." And after these words follows the colophon, "Here ends the sad history of the colony of Westphalia founded by me. May 11, 1842."⁴⁰

III. FATHER HELIAS AT HAARVILLE

The pessimistic forecast of the future of Catholicity in Central Missouri which Father Helias was led to make in consequence of his difficulties in New Westphalia failed to be justified by the event. The years were to smooth away the frictions and scandals of the moment and bring to a golden maturity the harvest which he had sown in much travail and bitterness of soul. As we saw, Father Helias withdrew in the spring of 1842 from Westphalia to St. Louis, without, however, abandoning altogether the spiritual care of the district that had been consigned to him. From St. Louis he made occasional visits to the parishes he had started in and around Jefferson City and finally in the beginning of September, 1842, again took up his residence in Central Missouri. This time, however, with the approval of his Superiors, he made his headquarters not in Westphalia, where the opposition to him was still active, but in Haarville, subsequently Taos, Cole County, where in 1840 he had built the church of St. Francis Xavier. Here the missionary was destined to remain until his death in 1874.⁴¹

The years immediately following Father Helias's return to his beloved Mission were marked by the erection at his hand of several new churches. Though some obscurity veils the beginnings of the

³⁹ "Why should the man who covets hardships hie to the dusky Indies? Let him come to Westphalia and he will find hardships aplenty."

⁴⁰ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 27.

⁴¹ The transfer in 1842 of the headquarters of the Mission of Central Missouri from Westphalia to Haarville (Taos) is emphasized by Father Helias in the Latin title prefixed by him to the *Westphalia Burial Register*, "*Liber Defunctorum Residentiae Sti Josephi Societatis Jesu in Nova Westphalia Comitatus Gasconade Status Missouriiani Americae Confederatae borealis ab anno Domini 1837. Moderatorum consensu atque expressa voluntate Residentia Centralis ad Sti Francisci Xaverii translata est in Cole County, Mo., A. 1842.*"

church of St. Ignatius Loyola in Jefferson City, we may accept 1841 as the year in which its construction was begun. Certainly, the church was in use for divine service in 1843.⁴² As only the churches of St. Joseph in Westphalia, St. Francis Xavier in Cole County and the Sacred Heart at Richfountain had been built prior to Father Helias's retirement from Westphalia in the spring of 1842, we may designate the Jefferson City edifice as the fourth of the seven churches built by the zealous missionary up to the end of 1845.⁴³ A fifth church, that of the Assumption, at the present Cedron in Moniteau County, was built before March, 1843.⁴⁴ April 6, 1844, the corner-stone was laid of the new church of St. Francis Xavier in Haarville. The edifice, 60 by 38 feet, could claim the distinction of being the first Catholic stone church to be built in the interior of Missouri. It was occupied for the first time on May 11, 1845, Father Helias on this occasion addressing the congregation in English, German and French.⁴⁵ Towards the end of 1844, the church of St. Thomas the Apostle was built at Indian Bottom, Cole County, near a bend in the Osage River.⁴⁶ Finally, on Ascension Day, May 1, 1845, the church of the Immaculate Conception at Loose Creek, in Osage County, on the main public road between Jefferson City and St. Louis, was opened for divine service.⁴⁷ Thus by the middle of 1845, Catholic churches had been built at Westphalia, Haarville, Richfountain, Jefferson City, Moniteau, Indian Bottom and Loose Creek. These seven churches, attesting the progress

⁴² Supra, p.

⁴³ Cf. Father Helias's Latin epigram (*Mémoires*), p. 58:
nos Gallia, Roma,

*"Flandria nos genuit, docuit nos Gallia, Roma,
Teutoniae Helvetiaeque sinus peragravimus omnes;
Post varios casus, terraeque marisque labores,
Sistimus; atque novae fundamina fiximus urbis
Westphaliae, septemque dicatas Numinis aedes.*

⁴⁴ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 28. However, the *Mémoires*, p. 55, (as also a Helias's Ms. dated about 1870), assigns the building of this church to 1845, while the *Status Animarum* etc. places it as early as 1841. The dates given in the *Mémoires* do not always tally with those in the *Historia Westphaliae*. The writer has followed generally the latter source as being more or less contemporary with the events recorded. The church of the Assumption referred to here is in the present Cedron, Moniteau Co., Mo. A second church of the Assumption appears to have been built by Father Helias in 1857 for a German congregation in Cole County, not far from Taos, but its location cannot be identified. The property of the Assumption church (Cedron) was acquired March 1, 1843, for a consideration of four dollars, from Ignace and Barbara Backer. It consisted of two acres in N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 4, Tnp. 46, Range 15 of Cole County, (Moniteau County not yet organized). The church had been built at the time the property was transferred.

⁴⁵ *Litterae Annuae*, 1845. A tract of four acres, including the site of St. Thomas's church, was conveyed, September 8, 1843, to the church authorities by Henry Stumpf and Christina, his wife. The consideration was five dollars. The tract was in S.W. corner of N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 22, Township 42, Range 12 W., Cole County.

⁴⁶ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 28. The dates 1843 and 1846 for the erection of the Indian Bottom church are also to be found in the Helias papers. Father Helias was led to choose St. Thomas the patron of this church in deference to the tradition, admittedly of slender historical value, which credits the apostle with having preached the gospel in America. Lebrocqy, *Vie du P. Hélias*, p. 228. Indian Bottom, now known as St. Thomas, is eight miles south of Jefferson City. "The first, pastor, Father Helias came to the place when there were but three or four families." *History of Osage*, p. 302.

⁴⁷ *Dies Memorabiles* (Helias Mss.); *Mémoires*, p. 54. The deed of conveyance of the Loose Creek church property, September 28, 1843, for a consideration of five dollars, from Louis Auguste Pequignot and his wife Joséphine to Fathers Verhaegen, De Theux, Smedts, describes it as the "certain tract of land on which the Roman Catholic Church of the Conception and Graveyard is situated." The tract was of six acres and began "at the north of the State Road of St. Louis to Jefferson City by Rolden's ferry to the North-east corner of the N.E. quarter of N.W. quarter, Section 5, Township 43, Range 9, West."

of Catholicity had made in Central Missouri, were among the results of Father Helias's first seven years of labor in that part of the St. Louis diocese.⁴⁸

The extent of the ministerial activities of Father Helias at this period is revealed in his routine itinerary for the year 1843. On the first Sunday of the month he officiated at St. Francis Xavier's in Haarville; on the second Sunday at St. Ignatius Loyola's in Jefferson City; on the third Sunday in Loose Creek, where, as the church building was not yet ready for use, services were held in the public school; on the fourth Sunday at the Sacred Heart in Richfountain; on the fifth Sunday, or, in default of that day, on some festival occurring during the month, at St. Joseph's in Westphalia. Besides this monthly round of visits, services were held three or four times a year at the Assumption on Moniteau Creek, at St. Thomas the Apostle, Indian Bottom, Cole County, and at Holy Cross in Pilot Grove, Cooper County. Moreover, visits were paid once or twice a year to Booneville, Columbia, Hibernia, Côte-sans-dessein and other stations.⁴⁹

As there was little money among the settlers, Father Helias had to rely largely on the charitable donations of friends in Europe for the means necessary to build and equip his numerous churches. Thus the church of St. Francis Xavier at Taos, where he spent the last thirty years of his life, was built and furnished largely through the munificence of his mother, Marie Helias d'Huddeghem, née the Countess of Lens. A remittance of \$875.00 made to her son in 1844 and another one of \$225.00 in 1845, are recorded as some of the frequent contributions she was wont to make for this purpose. The Countess died December 4, 1848, enjoining in her will that her heirs were to provide out of her estate whatever should be necessary for the complete furnishing of the church, of which, according to her son, she deserved to be called the foundress. As such, she was entitled to the special gratitude of the parish and Father Helias accordingly announced in 1845 that the Litany of Loretto should be recited every Sunday before services in her behalf and a Mass said annually for the same intention. After her death, the obligation of an annual *Requiem* Mass for the dead benefactress was placed upon the church.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The log-church at Westphalia, though begun in 1837, was finished under Father Helias's direction. He always enumerated it among the seven churches he had built in Central Missouri. *Septem extantes ecclesias ipse aedificandas curavi.*

⁴⁹ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 35. The congregation of the Holy Cross, Pilot Grove, Cooper County (12 miles southeast of Booneville) was at this period (1843) still without a church. Father Helias in his letter of Jan. 6, 1845, contributed to the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, XIX, gives a summary of his ministry in the various parishes and stations of his Mission for the period 1838-1844.

	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
Number of souls	620	700	950	1500	2000	2000	2500
Infant Baptisms	23	36	37	125	150	149	175
Easter Communions	423	560	700	1094	1090	1100	1300
First Communions	9	15	16	20	60	90	100
Conversions	3	4	5	4	4	3	4
Marriages	3	3	14	26	23	27	36
Burials	12	9	17	24	19	50	155

⁵⁰ *Historia Westphaliae*, pp. 38, 45, 46. *Maria Carolina Guislena Comes de Lens et Rom. Imperii Helias d'Huddeghem Fundatrix domus et ecclesiae juxta habet quotannis ad Anniversarium.* Others who helped Father Helias to build and furnish the church at Taos were the Ladies of the Beguinage of Ghent, his cousin Mlle. Rodriguez d'Evora y Vega and the Canon De La Croix of Ghent. Lebrocquy, *Vie du P. Hélias*, p. 256.

From the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, the object of which was the support of German Catholic missions in America, the Vice-Province of Missouri received in 1844 the sum of \$1875.00. Of this sum \$375.00 went to Father Helias for the churches he had built or was about to build. The Father was particularly anxious to receive aid from outside sources as he was thereby relieved of the necessity of relying on his parishioners for support. "Thanks to help of this kind, we can more effectively and with greater liberty announce the Gospel freely, and what we have freely received, freely give. Indeed, among the substantial of the [Jesuit] Institute, a gratuitous ministry is not by any means the last, and nothing is more detrimental to the good of souls than Iscariot-like avarice. Moreover, having what to eat, for Christ Himself has commanded us to eat what is placed before us, to what purpose are superfluities? Ought the Lord's work to be given over on this account? Many indeed are most ungrateful. But let us remember that chief among the concerns of Ignatius was Germany. He founded a college in Rome for German students. He was ready to recall St. Francis Xavier from distant India to send relief to the North. Of his first nine companions he gave five to Germany. Nay, he ordered his children, wheresoever scattered over the face of the earth, to say a Mass every month for the Northern countries. Let us not accordingly, fall below the lofty thoughts of so great a Father."⁵¹

An incident occurring in 1845 is recorded by Father Helias in terms that reveal the disappointment of which it was the occasion. Father Van de Velde, on his return from Europe in that year, brought with him a great quantity of altar furniture for the needy missions of the Vice-Province. Father Helias was counting on his share of the treasure and already in anticipation saw his poor mission chapels decently provided with all the accessories of divine service. But the steamer bearing the precious cargo, when almost in sight of St. Louis, unhappily caught fire and sank, a complete wreck. Nothing of Father Van de Velde's shipment appears to have been saved. To Father Helias the accident proved a real blow, retarding seriously as it did the progress of his parishes by depriving them of sorely needed equipment for the proper celebration of Mass and other sacred functions.⁵²

⁵¹ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 37. A letter from Father Helias, dated Jefferson City, Mo., Jan. 6, 1845, to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna gives an interesting account of the progress of Catholicity in Central Missouri, (*Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, 19:66-76, 1846). Considerable light is thrown on Father Helias's early struggles by his account-books, which he kept with painstaking accuracy and neatness. For the first eight years the honoraria in the shape of baptismal and marriage offerings, mass-stipends etc. which he received from the congregations under his care, amounted to the munificent sum of \$184. In 1844 he received from his parishioners \$90, the first money which they contributed directly to his support. "From the beginning the Congregation promised to pay \$200.00 as annuities, but could never give it." In his first year at New Westphalia, 1838, his income amounted to \$725.12½, of which sum \$10.00 came from Mother Duchesne, Superioress of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, and the rest from the estate of Bishop Barrett of Liege who had remembered the Jesuit Missions of Missouri in his will. Beginning with 1839 he received almost annually generous donations from his family in Belgium, while occasional appropriations from the Lyons Association for the Propagation of the Faith as also from the Austrian or Leopoldine Association helped towards the financing of his numerous parishes and stations. Sometimes money would be received for some specific purpose as this under date Feb. 16, 1841, "Thro P. J. Verhaegen for an expedition to Lexington, where I lost my horse. \$20."

⁵² *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 37.

The year 1844 was a calamitous one for Father Helias. The Missouri river flood of that year, the greatest in the history of the river, followed by a protracted drought, brought widespread sickness in its wake.⁵³ There was no house without its patient, and in most houses all the inmates were down with disease at the same time. In one dwelling which he visited, Father Helias found no fewer than twenty persons in the last stages of disease. The one compensating circumstance was that it was a season of divine grace for many of the victims, who found their way back to God's friendship as the shadows of death crept upon them. Father Helias himself was not to escape the consequence of the great physical strain and constant exposure to infection put upon him by the exercise of his ministry at this critical time. His health broke down and he began to waste away, his skin, as he expressed it in Scriptural phrase, cleaving to his bone. The doctors could do nothing for him and despaired of his recovery. And yet, he passed through the crisis, regained his strength and was able in time to take up again his burden of parochial missionary duties. The next year, 1845, he was repeating his experience of the past year, wearing himself out with attendance on the sick and running every risk of infection. A second collapse followed and the Father lay on what seemed from every human outlook his bed of death. The most skillful physicians in the county pronounced him beyond reach of medical aid. For some days he lay in a coma, a cold sweat bathing his forehead and the extremities of his body stiff with the icy rigors of approaching dissolution. Funeral arrangements began to be made and the parishes were notified to send their quota of pall-bearers. But at the last moment the skill of a worthy widow, Gertrude Evens by name, saved the priest's life. She succeeded in forcing a long reed tube between his firmly clenched teeth, with the result that some needed medicine was successfully administered. He rallied, grew steadily stronger and in a short while was again performing his customary round of labors.

But the health of Father Helias was at best a precarious thing, liable to break utterly at any time under the severe physical and mental strain he was put to in the exercise of his ministry. And still he kept at his post, declining the offer made by his Superior to allow him to return to Belgium. The minutes of the meeting on April 16, 1846, of the consultorial board of the Vice-Province of Missouri, contain this item: "Father Helias declines to return to Belgium, desiring to consummate the sacrifice of his health and life. Let him then remain where he is." However, Father Helias's Superiors determined now to send him an assistant-priest, a step that would have been taken earlier, had the very meagre personnel of the Vice-Province permitted. Accordingly on December 8, 1846, Father Helias was joined at the little Jesuit residence in Haarville, Cole County, by Father James Cotting, a Swiss, who had been employed in the Vice-Province in various parochial charges since his arrival in Missouri in 1840. He

⁵³ Barns, *Commonwealth of Missouri*, St. Louis, 1877, has an account of the Missouri-river rise of 1844.

was a man of robust health, with energy and zeal to match, in Father Helias's own words, "an exceeding zealous and active young missionary." Father Helias found him an admirable companion and, as he records, was cheered up more than words can tell by his kind and sympathetic charity and the efficient service he rendered in the ministry. From June up to the arrival of Father Cotting in December, Father Helias had been subject to a chronic and troublesome fever, but on the arrival of his companion, the fever disappeared and thenceforth he enjoyed the best of health.⁵⁴

Even prior to the arrival of Father Cotting, Father Helias had begun to enjoy some measure of relief, when, in 1848, the parishes of Jefferson City and Moniteau were taken over by a secular priest, the Reverend James Murphy, according to an agreement entered into between Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis and Father Van de Velde, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial. With Father Cotting now at hand to share his labors, the position of the pioneer missionary was vastly improved. *Semper et perpetuus in equo mobilis*, "forever moving about on horseback," is the descriptive detail with which Father Helias seeks to picture the kind of man he had for assistant. Father Cotting on his arrival immediately won the favor of the parishioners of St. Joseph in Westphalia by at once pushing forward the building of the new stone church which they had already begun at the instance of Father Helias. The corner-stone of the church was laid on March 19, 1848, with considerable ceremony. The weather was superb and a great throng of people, Catholic and non-Catholic, gathered for the occasion. Some Mexican cannon, trophies fresh from the siege of Sacramento in the Mexican war, broke the slumbers of the townsfolk at early dawn with their jubilant booming. Services were held in the old church from which there was a procession to the site of the new edifice, where Father Helias blessed the corner-stone with appropriate ceremony.⁵⁵

A sort of anti-clerical faction, dubbed the Latinians from the alleged circumstance of their having studied Latin in their native country, was found among the German Catholics of Westphalia. They were the same faction, it appears, who had fomented the opposition to Father Helias in 1842, which resulted in the temporary closing of the parish church. Now their efforts were directed against Father Cotting, whose authority they sought to undermine by calumny and abuse. Unfortunately, some unguarded statements of the priest, who was quick-tempered and frank of speech, were eagerly seized on by his enemies and turned to his disadvantage. A riotous disturbance which occurred in Westphalia on February 2, 1848, was laid to his charge. A law-suit followed at Jefferson City in which the Father appeared as defendant. The suit went against him and only the intervention of Father Helias with some of the public officials saved Father

⁵⁴ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 52.

⁵⁵ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 61. Father Cotting appears to have resided at Taos with Father Helias for the greater part of his stay in Central Missouri. It was not until the pastorate of Father Ehrensberger that Westphalia again assumed the status of an independent Residence.

Cotting from the payment of a heavy fine. Father Cotting was thereupon removed by his Superior from Westphalia, to which he bade farewell, January 18, 1849. His connection with the Missouri Vice-Province ceased at the same time and he spent the remainder of his days a member of the Maryland Province of his Order.⁵⁶

Father Cotting's place at Westphalia was filled by Father Andrew Ehrensberger, a Bavarian, one of the exiled German Jesuits who found a home in the Vice-Province of Missouri in 1848. Father Ehrensberger took up his residence at Westphalia on November 17 of that year. From this time forward there were two independent residences in Central Missouri, Westphalia and Taos. Father Ehrensberger gave much of his time and attention to the little Bavarian settlement at Richfountain.⁵⁷ Some little skill which he possessed as a painter he turned to good account by decorating the parish church. Father Helias's estimate of Father Ehrensberger's capabilities as a pastor of souls was high. He calls him a "capital preacher," *optimus concionator*, and sums up his record as a pastor of Westphalia in the words, "that redoubtable companion of Christ has so acquitted himself that no one can speak ill of him without untruth." Father Ehrensberger left Westphalia in 1851 to take up the duties of a professor in St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati. He was subsequently recalled to Germany where he achieved distinction as a missionary and preacher.⁵⁸

Father Ehrensberger was succeeded as Superior of the Westphalia Residence by Father Kalcher of the Austrian Province. Father Helias styles him "an excellent *operarius*." Thenceforward the line of Superiors at Westphalia down to the period of the Civil War, includes the names of Father Joseph Brunner, Anthony Eysvogels and John Baptist Goeldlin. Other Fathers attached to the residence as assistants during the same years were James Busschots, Joseph Weber, James Bruhl, John Schulz, William Niederkorn and Henry Van Mierlo, while aiding the Fathers in the domestic concerns of the house were the lay-brothers Sebastian Schlienger, Caspar Wohler, Joseph Prasneg, Wenceslaus Kossnar, Daniel Kochendorfer and Michael Schmidt.

IV. GROWTH OF THE PARISHES

During the ten or fifteen years that preceded the opening of the Civil War the Mission of Central Missouri prospered in every way. We shall touch briefly on the course of events in the more important of the parishes during that period.

The steeple of the new stone church of St. Joseph in Westphalia was not finished until some years later than the dedication of the church, a circumstance which seemed to lend point, according to the author of the "Annual Letters," to the Latin inscription over the church door, placed there by the architect,

⁵⁶ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 58.

⁵⁷ He "helped greatly to render the Mission of the Sacred Heart settled by his Bavarian countrymen a model mission by reason of the piety and fervor which distinguish it from all others."

⁵⁸ Father Ehrensberger returned to Westphalia as Superior in 1852, remaining there, however, not more than a year.

Concordia res crescunt discordia dilabuntur.

Happily the mischief-making tendencies of a part of the congregation during the early period of its history had been corrected, so that Father Goeldlin, Superior of the Westphalia Residence, could write in 1862: "The spirit of the people is in general, good. They have learned that in annoying and contradicting their priests there is neither peace nor the blessing of God."⁵⁹

Four miles to the north of Westphalia was the church of the Immaculate Conception at Loose Creek. The name Loose is usually explained as a corruption of the French *l'ours*, bear.⁶⁰ The parish was composed partly of German Rhinelanders and partly of Creoles, which latter element, however, appeared to display no very active interest in the affairs of the congregation. From 1851 on, Loose Creek had its Sunday Mass by one of the Fathers from Westphalia. 1853 and 1854 were cholera years, the epidemic finding its way into the interior of Missouri. Among the Irish laborers employed in the neighborhood of Loose Creek on the construction of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, there were numerous cases of the dreaded disease. These were attended to by the Westphalia pastors, not without difficulty, as the latter were hard pressed to care for the numerous cholera patients in Westphalia itself. In recognition of the charitable services of the Fathers, the Irish laborers on the Missouri Pacific contributed generously in 1855 to the interior decoration of the Loose Creek church, besides donating the two side altars of St. Joseph and our Blessed Lady.

At Richfountain, some five or six miles southeast of Westphalia, the little frame church of the Sacred Heart, built in 1840, was enlarged in 1854 to the dimensions 75 by 24 feet and topped off with a steeple. The village physician, a converted Lutheran, composed a "chronographus" for the church-bell, which was consecrated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother in memory of the solemn promulgation of that doctrine by Pius IX in 1854.⁶¹

In 1849, when the cholera was at its height, the congregation of the Sacred Heart vowed an annual exposition and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament for ten hours. Everyone in the parish escaped unharmed from the scourge. Accordingly, every year on the Sunday within the Octave of the Feast of the Sacred Heart, the people were wont to fulfill their vow with great devotion. Years after, when cholera again broke out in the state, no case was reported from Richfountain, an indication, as the author of the "Annual Letters" observes, of how

⁵⁹ *Missio Missouriensis centralis comprehendens Comitatus Osage, Cole, Miller, Maries 1852-1862.* (Mc.). The author is apparently Father John Goeldlin, Superior of the Westphalia Residence during the period 1857-1872. The present brief summary of the course of events in the central Missouri parishes during the decade or so of years immediately prior to the beginning of the Civil War is based largely on this source.

⁶⁰ See note 17, *supra* for list of families in Loose Creek, April 1, 1839, showing the Creole element in the majority at this period. The German settlers came in later. origin of the name cf. note 47, page 13.

⁶¹ *Sacrati Domini Cordis quae nomine gaudet
Ad ditis statio parvula fontis aquas
Campanam hancce, Maria tibi, quo consecrat anno
Quod pia crediderat, credere jussa fuit:
Peccati exsortem solam Te protoparentem
Conceptam patris Consilio esse Dei. . .*

pleasing to the Lord was the pious faith of the congregation. Another instance of the piety of the parishioners of Richfountain was the annual Solemn High Mass for a successful harvest. The Mass stipend was made up by small contributions from the farmers. It is related that one of their number ridiculed the idea of a collection taken up for this purpose and refused to contribute, saying jocosely that he would share in the blessings showered on his neighbors' crops. The harvest of this season surpassed expectation. The skeptic's wheat, cut and stacked to a great height in his field, made his heart rejoice. But one day, on a sudden, a storm came up and scattered his wheat far and wide, leaving nothing of the splendid crop except the straw. At the same time, the wheat in the adjoining fields lay untouched. The lesson was not lost on the light-minded farmer. Thereafter, he came forward every year unsolicited with a generous contribution for the Harvest Mass.

Though poorer in a material sense than were the other parishes of the Mission, Richfountain surpassed them in its zeal for Catholic education. The old school becoming too small for the needs of the parish, a new one of stone, 35 by 25 feet, was built in 1858 close to the church. Shortly after the erection of the school-house, the property on which it stood was claimed by a disaffected Catholic who proposed, however, to leave it in the hands of the parish on condition that the new building be used as a public school. Though the claimant found many to stand by him, most of the parishioners rejected the proposal indignantly and fought the case in court, with the result that both school building and property were saved to the parish. The litigation, however, caused a slight rift in the harmony that generally obtained among the Richfountain Catholics, while for years after the debt incurred by the erection of the new school-house lay as a heavy burden on the hundred families that made up the congregation.

Fifteen miles southwest of Westphalia, near a bend in the Osage river, was the church of St. Thomas the Apostle. Though situated in Cole County the limits of the parish extended for some miles into the neighboring Osage and Miller Counties. In 1844 when the first log-chapel was built, the families numbered only seven. This number had trebled in 1854, when a frame church, 30 by 26 feet, was put up, the old church being utilized as a presbytery. But the location of the church proved unsatisfactory, for the only approach to it lay through the property of an ill-humored farmer, who threatened all the rigors of the law against the church-goers. Hence both church-building and presbytery were moved in 1856 to a more accessible site, where a settlement named St. Thomas was gradually formed. In 1860 the parish counted no more than thirty-five families, many of the former parishioners having moved down to Miller County where fertile land was in abundance.⁶²

Ten miles south of Westphalia was a settlement originally known as St. Boniface, from the name of the parish-church, and later as Koeltztown, from the name of the chief property-owner of the locality.

⁶² *Supra*, note 46.

In 1856 the sale of public lands to the south of Westphalia at attractively low prices induced many of the parishioners of St. Joseph to move in that direction. A Protestant lady, Mrs. Koeltz, who had purchased several thousand acres of land in the locality in question, conceived the idea that the best means of attracting settlers would be the erection of a Catholic church. She accordingly offered ten acres of land for this purpose and, besides, promised to contribute generously to the building-fund. In 1857 Father Goeldlin, then Superior at Westphalia, was invited to come down to the new settlement to superintend the construction of the proposed church. However, the Father was under strict orders from the Vice-Provincial to open no more stations and wished, moreover, first to see the site offered for the church, as an imprudent choice of location had just made it necessary to move the church of St. Thomas to another place at a considerable outlay of money. But the promoters of the new church at Koeltztown were impatient of delay and sent a delegation to Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis to offer him the church property, which he accepted. Foundations for an elaborate stone edifice which was to eclipse St. Joseph's in Westphalia were immediately laid and in July 1858, Father Goeldlin, at Archbishop Kenrick's request, laid the corner-stone. However, a young carpenter, who had ventured to play the role of architect of the new church, finding himself incompetent to prosecute his task, made off with a considerable part of the building fund. The original plan was thereupon discontinued and a modest frame church erected, more in keeping with the humble circumstances of the settlers.

The difficulty of securing a pastor for the new church had now to be met. The Archbishop of St. Louis had no one to send. The Jesuits were again petitioned to assume charge of the station, but had to decline. However, an arrangement was made between Archbishop Kenrick and Father Coosemans, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial, by which Koeltztown was to be attended from Westphalia until a diocesan priest could be found for the post. Accordingly, beginning with June 1861, the place began to be visited by one of the Westphalia Fathers every second Sunday of the month.⁶³

Twenty-three miles south of Westphalia in Maries County was the town of Vienna, which could boast its own Catholic church, St. Mary's. In the beginning of the fifties, Vienna was a wilderness. A widely advertised sale of public lands at a low figure attracted settlers to the locality, among them a number of Irish Catholic families from the cities. These were soon planning to secure to themselves the blessing of a church and pastor. As the settlers were scattered over a considerable stretch of territory, two stations were formed for their accommodation. The settlers in the town and its immediate vicinity were the first of the two groups to build a church, which was named St. Mary's. The second station, eight miles distant from St. Mary's, was after 1862 visited every two months from Westphalia. The neat little St. Mary's church, a frame structure forty feet long, was attended by about thirty-five families. Father Goeldlin remarks in the "Annual

⁶³ "Koeltztown was named after the first merchant, August Koeltz." *History of Moniteau etc. Counties, p.*

Letters" that when a new station is formed, all things have, so to speak, to be created anew. Not only does lack of money retard the work, but the parishioners, however devoutly they may have lived in the cities, are not easily brought to put up with the inconvenience of bad roads. The parishioners of Vienna, continues the Father, are chiefly Irish who give promise of becoming not less fervent than the rest of their countrymen, nor less generous, provided Heaven blesses their efforts and brings their good intentions to fruition.⁶⁴

Towards the close of 1861, the Jesuit pastors assumed charge of another station, about sixteen miles east of Westphalia, known as St. Isidore's, where a group of French settlers had put up a little church. The site had been chosen and the building begun by the settlers on their own initiative and without consulting the Fathers of Westphalia. Unfortunately the location of the church was a poor one. Moreover, the church was destitute of proper furniture and vestments, while the *Annual Letters* note, "it will require great zeal and labor and a considerable measure of divine grace to realize any fruit." About the same time that St. Isidore's was taken in charge, two additional stations, one six and the other about twelve miles south of St. Isidore's, were started and attended from Loose Creek.⁶⁵

At Taos, where Father Helias resided ever since his withdrawal from Westphalia in 1842, he had the satisfaction of seeing his parish of St. Francis Xavier grow steadily in loyalty to its pastor and regard for ecclesiastical authority. The old attempt at schism on the part of a small but aggressive faction which had provoked warning letters to the congregation from Bishop Rosati and his successor, Bishop Kenrick, were no longer renewed. The material condition of the colonists likewise went on improving. Many of them who had enlisted in the Mexican War shared in the bounty of the Government, which settled a quarter-section of land on each of the volunteers when they were discharged from service at the end of the war. The arrival in the autumn of 1847 of a party of fifty Belgian emigrants from the neighborhood of Ghent, who came highly recommended by M. Beaulieu, Belgian Minister in Washington, boded well for the future of the parish. They had probably been attracted to Central Missouri by a report published at Brussels by the Baron Van der Straten-Pantholz, Secretary of the Belgian Legation at Washington. The Baron made a trip through Osage and Cole Counties in 1845 to ascertain by per-

⁶⁴ Conard, *Cyclopedia of the History of Missouri and History of Moniteau etc. Counties* have brief accounts of Vienna. Among the first Catholic settlers were Mr. Felkner, Thomas and Dennis Fennessy and Michael Owen. The first church was built as early as 1859.

⁶⁵ The church property at St. Isidore, near Linn, a tract of three and a quarter acres, (S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 33, Tnp. 44, Range 8, W.), was conveyed February 18, 1860, by Irene Curtit to the Jesuit Father for \$25.00. The church erected by the French was of logs. The parish of Maria Hilf, Mary Help of the Christians, near Isbell station on the Missouri Pacific R. R. some fifteen miles north of Westphalia was organized in 1862 by Father Buschotts, S.J. The church property, two acres, (Sections 2 and 11, Tnp. 44, Range 9), was acquired May 26, 1873.

St. Ignatius's parish, Bailey's Creek, was established by Father Buschotts in 1858. Father Verhaegen, visiting the place the fall of 1837, found there some ten or twelve families, all Americans. (Verhaegen a Rosati, Nov. 17, 1837). The church property, six acres, (N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 22, Twp. 44, Range 7 W.), was acquired for a consideration of five dollars, June 23, 1859, from Peter and Catherine Jordan. A log church was built in 1859. Bailey's Creek is fifteen miles northeast of Westphalia.

St. George's parish in Linn, the county-seat of Osage County, was organized by Father Goeldlin in 1867.

sonal observation the prospects it held out to Belgium emigrants. Clad in a heavy buffalo-robe, for it was the depth of winter, and accompanied by Father Helias who was similarly protected, he visited the various stations of the mission, entering the farm-houses and chatting pleasantly with the occupants on the success, or perhaps the lack of it, that had attended their efforts. Much useful information was in this way gleaned for the benefit of such of his countrymen as might care to try their fortune in the New World.⁶⁶ The actual arrival in Cole County in 1847 of the party of Belgian emigrants above referred to gladdened the heart of Father Helias.

"Mr. Pierre Dirckx, an energetic, intelligent and very religious young man, acts as agent for the emigrants and shows me great consideration. So far our countrymen have escaped the bilious fever of this country, a sort of Polders fever, but more acute and painful.

The Belgian farmers make themselves favorably known in Missouri as everywhere else by their industry, methodical habits, perseverance, love of hard work and incomparable neatness. An air of prosperity hangs over their places which might serve as model farms for all the emigrants. When I ask our Flemings how they are satisfied here, they answer that "they are as happy as King Leopold on his throne".

I am delighted with the new parishioners; they are good Catholics and always ready to render me a service. Mr. Pierre Dirckx, my nearest neighbor, is a constant visitor at the presbytery and shows me every attention. Together with his partner, Mr. Charles Beckaert, he runs a successful farm of which he is the owner and which yields him a handsome income. Their hired men Edouard Van Voeren François Steppens, François Goessens, etc., are mostly Belgians. These young fellows are all equipped with trades, not only useful but highly lucrative in a country like this which has just been thrown open to civilization. For example, François Goessens is an excellent maker of wooden shoes. People come from twenty miles around to fit themselves out at his shop. I have known him to sell as many as five hundred sabots in a single day. It's a smooth business for wood here costs nothing or almost nothing.⁶⁷

We may conclude our account of Father Helias and his ministry at Taos by citing the words in which he pictures the condition of the parish in the decade immediately preceding the Civil War.

"While in so many localities both of the Old and New World, corruption, the fruit of wicked doctrines, makes incessant headway, the moral condition of our settlement recalls the beautiful days of the primitive church. Here one may, without the slightest risk, go away from his house, leaving the doors right open. You need have no fear of theft or trespassing of any kind. Irreligious or licentious publications fail to reach our excellent people. Libertinism is unknown: God's name is not, as elsewhere, the object of profanity. My priestly heart experiences a joy ever new in seeing our churches crowded on Sundays and feast-days, with throngs of faithful souls who emulate one another in singing the praises of the Lord."⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 47.

⁶⁷ Lebrocq, *Vie du P. Hélias*, p. 254.

⁶⁸ The "Mission of Central Missouri," as described in the *Annual Letters*, (1853-1862), had an area of 2500 square miles lying between the Missouri, Osage and Gasconade Rivers and a line fifty miles south. It took in all of Osage County and part of Maries, Miller and Cole Counties. The Catholic population numbered three thousand. The Residence of St. Francis Xavier at Taos, with its dependent stations, lay outside the limits of the "Mission of Central Missouri" proper, the headquarters of which were at Westphalia. Here there were generally three Fathers attached to the Residence, a fourth being added in 1860. At a later period, Richfountain, Loose Creek and Linn had resident Jesuit pastors, who, however, remained under the authority of the Westphalia Superior, whom they were required to visit personally once a week.

Thus did the course of events in the Jesuit parishes of Central Missouri run on calmly down to the dark days of the Civil War, when they were made to face the invasion of political passion and strife. Father Helias's *Historia Westphaliae* ends about 1861 with the fervent apostrophe:

"O Ferdinand, why so dumb? Everything proceeds A. M. D. G. and without change, as from the beginning. Why therefore should I repeat? Of one thing, however, I must make mention A. M. D. G., to wit, the singular favor wrought by St. Francis Xavier, who cured suddenly my friend and guest, Charles Louis Bekaert, a settler of sixty years, of a cancer which had fairly eaten through his hand, and besides, freed me in an instant of acutely painful rheumatism. Moreover, I have experienced over and over again and hereby gratefully acknowledge A. M. D. G. the most visible assistance of my Guardian Angel. O God! Thou hast given thine Angels charge over me, that they may keep me in my ways."

The purpose of this article has been to sketch the beginnings of Catholicity in Osage and Cole Counties, Missouri, with the narrative brought down to the period of the Civil War as a convenient stopping-place. Subsequent to that period the pioneer Jesuit parishes of the counties named were resigned one by one by their founders into the hands of the diocesan clergy, the last of the group, Loose Creek, being ceded in 1886. The outstanding figure throughout this well-nigh half-century of Jesuit parochial activity in Central Missouri was, it need not be said, Father Ferdinand Helias, who, after witnessing the seeds of Catholicity which he had planted in much travail of soul and body take root and grow unto the ripened harvest, died at Taos, Cole County, August 11, 1874. He was indeed a veritable apostle of the Faith in these parts and the incidents of his strenuous missionary career will ever remain a chapter of fascinating interest in the story of the up-building of Catholicity in the great state of Missouri.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE. Material for a history of the early Catholic missions of Osage and Cole counties, Missouri, is more abundant than is usually the case in ecclesiastical beginnings due largely to the fact that Father Helias, founder of these missions, wielded a facile and ready pen. Among manuscript sources may be mentioned, in addition to the usual parish registers of baptism, marriages and funerals, the annual reports (*Litterae Annuae*) forwarded by Father Helias to his Superiors in St. Louis, *Historia Westphaliae*, a Latin narrative of some seventy pages and a French autobiographical Memoir drawn up in 1867, *Mémoires du Rd. P. Ferdinand Hélias D'Huddeghem, prêtre missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus en Amérique*. Father Francis Braun S.J. left an exhaustive manuscript account in German especially valuable for its lists of early Catholic settlers in Central Missouri. Printed sources include Rev. F. Holweck sketch of Father Helias in the St. Louis *Pastoral-Blatt*, March, 1919, by far the best biographical account in print; Lebrocquy, *Vie du R. P. Hélias D'Huddeghem de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Gand, 1878, a work based largely on Father Helias's letters to his family in Belgium; *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich*, 1843-1850 (cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, July, 1915), *Missouri Historical Review*, 5:83 (1911), article, *Recollections of the First Catholic Mission Work in Central Missouri*, by Rev. Joseph B. Schmidt; *History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries and Osage Counties, Missouri*, Chicago, Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1889.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S.J.

THE FLAT-HEAD AND NEZ PERCE DELEGATION TO ST. LOUIS 1831--1839

Towards the close of the year 1831 a delegation of four Indians from beyond the Rocky Mountains reached the city of St. Louis. Their language¹ was different from all the Indian dialects with which the inhabitants had some acquaintance. Yet, as these visitors gradually made themselves understood, it was learnt that they had come to obtain religious teachers for their people, the Flat-Head and Nez Percé tribes² near the Pacific Ocean. They visited the Catholic Cathedral,³ and attended divine service with all possible reverence. Owing to the change of climate and the unwonted life in a city, these children of the wilderness grew ill; two of them were baptized on their death bed by Fathers Roux and Saulnier of the Cathedral, and were buried with all the rites of the Church. The other two started in the Spring of 1832 on their return voyage, but only one reached his home, as the other died on the way. These are the simple facts of the occurrences, similar in many ways to numerous other delegations sent to St. Louis by the Indian tribes round about for the purpose of obtaining a Black Robe as their guide and teacher. Yet this visit is specially remarkable in our early annals, not only on account of the vast distance these seekers after God had traveled, but even more so on account of the great and lasting results it eventually matured in the Catholic missions of Oregon. There is another point of interest connected with this embassy, namely the legendary embellishment it has found up to the present day, in the Protestant missionary story of the saving of Oregon

¹ Most of the Indians that had come in contact with the people of St. Louis were of the Algonquin linguistic stock, so the various branches of the Illinois, the Sacs and Reynards of the North, Indians of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware. The Kansas and Osages were of Siouan linguistic stock. But these newcomers from beyond the Rocky Mountains belonged to the Salishan group, which had no affinity with any of the Eastern and Central linguistic groups. General Clark, indeed, had been in their country for an extended period, but had conversed with them by means of an interpreter. Cf. Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest* p. 6.

² Flathead and Nez Percé (Pierced Noses) although these Indians did not indulge in the practices which their names might indicate. They called themselves Salish. "The country of the Flatheads," says Palladino, "was that part of Montana lying west at the base of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. It was called in their language Spétleman, which means 'place of the bitter root,' whence the name of the Bitter Root Valley." *Indian and White in the Northwest*. ch. I, p. 1.

³ The Catholic Cathedral of 1831 was Bishop Du Bourg's church of brick on Rue de l'Eglise (2nd Street) near Market, which was used for divine service until October 1834, when the new Cathedral, on Walnut Street was consecrated by Bishop Rosati. The old dilapidated structure was consumed by fire on the night of April 6, 1835.

for the Union, or as it is called by later historical writers, "the Marcus Whitman Legend."⁴

The legendary story takes account of the facts as we have related them, with one exception. Not for Black gowns, Catholic missionaries, did the Flat-Head and Nez Percé come from the far-away Pacific slope, but for the Book, the Book of Heaven, the Bible. And if they asked Governor Clark for a missionary, it was not a Catholic priest they desired but a Protestant preacher. After two had died, and been buried in the Cathedral Cemetery, the two remaining delegates were entertained at a banquet by General Clark; at which the Old Chief, a Nez Percé, is introduced as delivering the following lament:⁵ "I came to You, the Great Father of the White Men, with but one eye partly opened. I am to return to my people beyond the mountains of snow, at the setting sun, with both eyes in darkness, and both arms broken. I came for teachers and am going back without them. I came to You for the Book of God. You have not led me to it. You have taken me to Your big house, where multitudes of Your children assemble, and where Your young women dance as we do not allow our women to dance, and You have taken me to many other big houses where the people bow down to each other and light torches to worship pictures. The Book of God was not there. And I am to return to my people to die in darkness." This parting speech of the Nez Percé chief, was first published by the Rev. H. H. Spalding in the *Walla-Walla Statesman*, February 16, 1866, about thirty-four years after the supposed event. The Reverend Mr. Spalding further stated, that the lament was overheard by a young man of the Methodist Church; but that he himself had "received it from the only surviving one of the delegation." In 1870 the Reverend Mr. Spalding wrote a slightly different version of the Lament for the *Chicago Advance*. In 1883 we find the Lament beautifully amplified and indianized in the Rev. William Barrow's "Oregon": "I came to You over the trail of many moons from the setting sun" . . . and so on in the vein of Brand and Logan, "My people sent me to get the white man's Book from Heaven." "You took me where they worship the Great Spirit with candles, and the Book was not there. . . . You made my feet heavy with burdens of gifts, and my mocassins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among them." These are only a few samples of the Rev. William Barrows' amplifications of the Rev. Mr. Spalding's account of the young Nez Percé's report of the old Nez Percé chief's lament to General Clark, concerning "the Book that was not there." This

⁴ A vast and tangled mass of literature has grown up around this remarkable visit of the Flat-Head Indian Mission. To separate truth from legend was not an easy task. Non-Catholic writers are in the ascendancy, as far as quantity is concerned, but the Catholic writers are far superior, in regard to quality. Father Palladino's book "Indian and White in the Northwest. Baltimore. 1894" outweighs all the Spaldings, Barrows, Nixons, Lees, Eels, Mowrys, Bashfords of the Protestant side. Bancroft, in his *History of Oregon* is reliable though not exhaustive. H. Addington Bruce is fair and judicial. The myth that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon for the Union is exploded long since. *The American Catholic Historical Researches* contain two articles of great importance on this question. Vol. XVI: "The Story of Marcus Whitman refuted," by H. N. Beadle, and Vol. XVIII: "The Legend of Marcus Whitman" by E. G. Bourne.

⁵ Cf. the interesting monograph, "The Evolution of a Lament" by C. T. Johnson (F. M. Elliott), reprinted from *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 3.

might do as a speech in a Leatherstocking Tale but is a blot on the page of history. Yet Mowry in his *Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon*, 1901, goes one step further, in his eagerness to secure this gem of oratory as the historic cornerstone of the Protestant Missions on the Pacific slope. In his introduction Mowry states: "This book is a history, not an embellished story . . . from first to last it has to do with facts." Here is one of the facts intended to bolster up the authenticity of the Indian chief's lament: "One of the clerks in General Clark's office took down at the moment the speech of the Indian as it was interpreted to General Clark, and it began to be circulated." Mowry offers not a single authority for this assertion; he seems to think that a fact does not need any proof, proof sufficient that it is a fact. He makes his statement in 1901, the fact is supposed to have occurred in 1832, that is about sixty-nine years ago, and in all these years no one, not even the Rev. Mr. Spalding ventured to assert that the lament had been circulated in writing immediately after the event. Yet in Mowry's book the romantic address is printed in full as an authentic fact of history, thus leading Edwin Eels to make the dramatic statement: "These were the words that saved Old Oregon and the Pacific Northwest to the government of the United States."⁶

I have dwelt at greater length on the so-called Indian Lament because it has been used by Protestant writers to clinch the argument in favor of the view that the purpose of the Flat-Head and Nez Percé delegation to St. Louis was to obtain teachers of the Protestant brand of Christianity, together with their book, the Bible, and not, what Bishop Rosati offered them, Catholic missionaries, and the holy Mass.

Now what are the real facts of the case? Or what are the historical grounds for the Catholic version of this interesting episode in our missionary annals? The supporters of the Protestant version, with one exception, were not eyewitnesses of the occurrences during the Indian delegation's stay in St. Louis, in fact had not met them at any time, but only spoke from hearsay. The young halfbreed Wyandot, indeed, a member of the Methodist Church, of whom we shall have more to say ere long, spoke with the Têtes Plattes and Nez Percés: but on the point at issue he appeals to the authority of General Clark, and Clark himself must be considered a witness for the Catholic side. All the other Protestant authorities can, at best, only say "*relata refero*." But the witnesses for the Catholic side of the question, namely that this delegation from beyond the Rocky Mountains came to seek, not a Book, nor a Protestant missionary, but a living Black gown, a Priest of the Catholic Church, the witnesses for this version are well able to tell us true because they saw and heard what was going on at the time, and they will tell us true because they, both Protestants and Catholics, are men of highest character for veracity and honesty of purpose.

Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, was a most exact and pains-

⁶ *Ibidem*, at the end.

taking recorder of contemporary events. In his Letter Book for 1831 he notes under date of December 31, that he had sent a letter to Mgr. Pélagaud, of Lyon, with information in regard to two savages, *Têtes Plattes*, baptized and subsequently buried in St. Louis.

This letter was published in the Annals of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith. Under date of December 31, 1831, Bishop Rosati wrote as follows:

"Some three months ago four Indians who live across the Rocky Mountains near the Columbia river (Clark's Fork of the Columbia), arrived at St. Louis. After visiting General Clark, who, in his celebrated travels, has visited their nation and has been well treated by them, they came to see our church and appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with it. Unfortunately, there was not one who understood their language. Some time afterwards two of them fell dangerously ill. I was then absent from St. Louis.

"Two of our priests visited them and the poor Indians seemed to be delighted with the visit. They made signs of the cross and other signs which appeared to have some relation to baptism. The Sacrament was administered to them; they gave expressions of satisfaction. A little cross was presented to them. They took it with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly and it could be taken from them only after death. It was truly distressing that they could not be spoken to. Their remains were carried to the church, and their funeral was conducted with all the Catholic ceremonies. The other two attended and acted very becomingly. We have since learned from a Canadian, who has crossed the country which they inhabit, that they belong to the nation of Flat-Heads, who, as also another called Black Feet, had received some notions of the Catholic religion from two Indians who had been to Canada and who had related what they had seen, giving a striking description of the beautiful ceremonies of the Catholic worship and telling them that it was also the religion of the whites. They have retained what they could of it, and they have learned to make the Sign of the Cross and pray. These nations have not yet been corrupted by intercourse with others. Their manners and customs are simple and they are very numerous. Mr. Condamine (Rev. Matthew Condamine was one of Bishop Rosati's clergy attached to the Cathedral) has offered himself to go to them next spring with another. In the meantime we shall obtain some further information of what we have been told and of the means of travel."⁷

The Book of Sepultures 1781-1832 of the St. Louis Cathedral, contains the entries of Baptisms and Burial of the two members of the delegation, the one signed by Benedict Roux, the other by Edmond Saulnier.⁸

S. A. Clark,⁹ in his "*Pioneer Days of Oregon History*" quotes another letter of Bishop Rosati sent to the General of the So-

⁷ Cf. Palladino. *l. c.* p. 11 & 12.

⁸ Book of Sepultures 1781-1832 of St. Louis Cathedral, kept at Chancery of Archdiocese of St. Louis, has these two entries:

Le trente et un d'Octobre mil huit cent trente et un, Je sousigné ai inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse le corps de Keepeellele ou Pipe Bard du Nez Percé de la tribu de Chopoweck Nation appelée Têtes Plattes âgé d'environ quarante quatre ans, administré du St. Baptême venant de la rivière Columbia au dela des Rocky Mountains.

EDM. SAULNIER, PR.

Le dix sept de Novembre mil huit cent trente et un, Je sousigné, ai inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse le corps de Paul sauvage de la Nation des Têtes Plattes venant de la rivière Columbia au dela des Rock Mountains, administré du St. Baptême et de l'extrême onction.

ROUX, PR.

⁹ Clark, S. A. "*Pioneer Days of Oregon History*, Portland, 1905."

ciety of Jesus at Rome, saying that as early as 1816 some Catholic Iroquois from Canada had settled among the Flat-Heads and taught them religion, and that about 1830, again in 1832, and once more in 1839 Flat-Heads or Iroquois-Flatheads came to St. Louis for more light. It is to be regretted that our authority for this extract, James W. Bashford, does not give the entire letter of Bishop Rosati, for then he might have been enabled to correct the dates given by Clark 1831-32, and 1835, leaving 1839 as it is.

We will insert the original letter, as we find it reprinted by C. B. Palladino, S.J. It is dated St. Louis, October 20, 1839, and addressed to the Father General of the Society of Jesus at Rome:¹⁰

"Reverend Father:

"Eight or nine years ago (1831) some of the Flat-Head nation came to St. Louis. The object of their journey was to ascertain if the religion spoken of with so much praise by the Iroquois warriors was in reality such as represented, and above all, if the nations that have white skins had adopted and practiced it. Soon after their arrival in St. Louis they fell sick (two of them), called for a priest and earnestly asked to be baptized. Their request was promptly granted and they received the holy baptism with great devotion. Then holding the crucifix they covered it with affectionate kisses and expired.

"Some years after (1835) the Flat-Head nation sent again one of the Iroquois nation to St. Louis (Old Ignace). There he came with two of his children, who were instructed and baptized by the Fathers of the College. He asked missionaries for his countrymen and started with the hope that one day the desire of the nation would be accomplished, but on his journey was killed by the infidel Indians of the Sioux nation."

"At last," continues Bishop Rosati, "a third expedition (Left-Handed Peter and Young Ignace) arrived at St. Louis, after a voyage of three months. It was composed of two Christian Iroquois. These Indians, who talk French, have edified us by their truly exemplary conduct and interested us by their discourses. The Fathers of the College have heard their confessions and today they approached the holy table at High Mass in the Cathedral church. Afterwards I administered to them the sacrament of Confirmation and in an address delivered after the ceremony I rejoiced with them at their happiness and gave them the hope to have soon a priest.

"They will depart tomorrow: one of them will carry the good news promptly to the Flat-Heads; the other will spend the winter at the mouth of the Bear river, and in the spring he will continue his journey with the missionary whom we will send them. Of the twenty-four Iroquois who formerly emigrated from Canada only four are still living. Not only have they planted the faith in those wild countries, but they have besides defended it against the encroachment of the Protestant ministers. When these pretended missionaries presented themselves among them, our good Catholics refused to accept them. 'These are not the priests about whom we have spoken to you,' they would say to the Flat-Heads, 'they are not the blackrobed priests who have no wives, who say Mass, who carry the crucifix with them!' For the love of God my Very Reverend Father, do not abandon these souls!"

On the very date that this letter was written, Bishop Rosati made the following entry in his *Diary*:

1839 Oct. 20. Dominica XXII post Pentecosten. . . . Post Missam pontificalibus vestibus assumptis, et hymno *Veni Creator Spiritus* can-

¹⁰ For the full letter cf. Palladino, *l. c.* p. p. 31 & 22.

tato, sermonem habui ad Confirmandos. Confirmationis Sacramentum administravi duobus indigenis, Ignatio Ootstagleave, et Petro Okassaweita ex natione Iroquois. Hi in Canada ex Catholicis parentibus nati, et in Catholica Religione instructi, ante tres et viginti annos ad regiones quae intra oras pacifici Oceani et Montes petrosos continentur migrarunt, apud tribum quae, *têtes plates* (Flathead) dicuntur constiterunt, et ex illorum foeminis uxores duxerunt, Religioni addicti illam nedum obliti fuerunt sed et infideles apud quos debebant docuerunt. nunc post trium mensium iter huc advenerunt, et petunt Sacerdotem Missionarium, qui apud gentes illas Evangelium praedicet." ¹¹

These accounts written by Bishop Rosati in 1839, about eight years after the first Flathead and Nez Percé delegation, refer, for the most part, to the later developments of the event under discussion; yet they throw a bright light on the origin and the purpose of the delegation of 1831.

Twenty-four Iroquois braves, members of the fierce warrior-tribe, but now tamed by the Catholic religion under the leadership of Ignace La Mousse, or Old Ignace, had joined the Flatheads and intermarried with them as early as 1816. They had not only not forgotten their religion, but had instructed the heathens among whom they lived in its tenets, and caused the petition to be made for a missionary to teach them the Gospel.

These documents further state that the prime movers in this religious effort did not lose courage after the first failure, but had sent one of their own number, the Iroquois Old Ignace, with his two sons¹² as the second delegation to St. Louis. This second embassy certainly did not ask for the "Book" but for living missionaries, Jesuit Black gowns. It must be noted here that Old Ignace was killed by the Sioux, not on his homeward journey but on the third embassy, which set out from the Flathead country in the summer of 1837, but never having reached its destination is generally omitted from the count. Bishop Rosati's letter also gives promise of fulfilling the ardent wish of these men of good will. The reason that the Flatheads and Nez Percés had to wait some years longer for the advent of the desired Black gown is the scarcity of priests in the vast diocese, a circumstance which Bishop Rosati hopes will be relieved by the intervention of the General of the Society of Jesus. On the 7th of October 1832 Father Condamine was appointed Pastor of Kaskaskia, and on the 8th of August, 1836, he died in Cahokia.

But now we must return to the forlorn Flatheads and Nez Percés of 1832, awaiting the opening of the season for travel, mourning their dead comrades and being entertained at a banquet by General Clark.

General Clark, in company with Meriwether Lewis, was among the first white men that came to the country about the Columbia River

¹¹ *Diary of Bishop Rosati, Oct. 20, 1839.*

¹² Old Ignace was the leader of the third Flat-Head mission in the summer of 1837. His band, only five in number, was attacked by a war-party of 300 of the Sioux. Old Ignace was told to stand aside, being an Iroquois, with whom the Sioux had no quarrel, but the brave fellow chose the lot of his adopted brethren and fell fighting. "Thus perished he who may justly be called the apostle of the Flat-Heads, and through them also of many of the other Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains." Palladino, *l. c.* p. 20 & 21.

Sept. 1805. At the time of which we are writing, 1831-1832, he was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the West. He was a man of untarnished honor, and highly respected by all. His interest in the Indians was generous and unselfish. Our Flathead and Nez Percé delegation called on him, as a matter of course, and enjoyed his hospitality. The death of the two members occurred at his house. Let us hear what General Clark has to say on the purpose of the embassy. As we have not his direct testimony on the matter, we must elicit it from the testimony of others. William Walker Jr., a halfbreed of the Wyandotte nation, member of the Methodist Church, and government Indian agent, came to St. Louis in 1832 and called on his chief, General Clark. Being told of three Indians from the West lying ill, in another room, he visited them at General Clark's request, and learnt, as he himself states, that they had come 3000 miles on foot (should be 2000 miles on horse back) to consult their Great Father on very important matters.

What were these important matters? The Wyandot Christian Walker, the chief witness of the Protestant side, does not claim that the Indians themselves, but rather the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, told him about them. Walker in his letter to S. P. Disoway of Pittsburgh, dated Upper Sandusky, Jan. 19, 1833, makes the following statement:

General Clark related to me the object of their mission, . . . and I will here relate it briefly as well as I can: It appears that some white man had penetrated into their country and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies, which they scrupulously performed at stated periods. He informed them that their mode of worshipping the Supreme Being was radically wrong, and instead of being acceptable and pleasing, it was displeasing to Him; he also informed them that the white people away toward the rising of the sun had been put in possession of the true mode of worshipping the Great Spirit. They had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy His favor and hold converse with Him; and with this guide, no one need go astray; but everyone that would follow the directions laid down there could enjoy, in this life, His favor, and after death would be received into the country where the Great Spirit resides, and live forever with Him.

Upon receiving this information, they called a national council to take this subject into consideration. Some said, if this be true, it is certainly high time we were put in possession of this mode, and if our mode of worshipping be wrong and displeasing to the Great Spirit, it is time we had laid it aside. We must know something about this—it is a matter that cannot be put off—the sooner we know it the better. They accordingly deputed four of the chiefs to proceed to St. Louis to see their great father, General Clark, to inquire of him, having no doubt but he would tell them the whole truth about it.

They arrived at St. Louis and presented themselves to General Clark. The latter was somewhat puzzled, being sensible of the responsibility that rested on him; he, however, proceeded by informing them that what they had been told by the white man was true. Then he went into a succinct history of man, from his creation down to the advent of the Saviour; explained to them all the moral precepts contained in the Bible, expounded to them the decalogue; informed them of the advent of the Savior, his life, precepts, his death, resurrection, ascension, and the relation he now stands to man as mediator—that he will judge the world, etc."

The letter of Mr. Walker, published in the *Christian Advocate*, the leading Methodist publication, March 1, 1833, was the occasion of a sudden and widespread movement among the Protestants of the East in favor of a missionary establishment among the Flatheads.¹³ Many a writer's enthusiasm improved the occasion by letting his imagination supplant laborious investigation; and so we have a vast bulk of so-called historical literature clustering around this Indian cry, that "the white people had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves." The inference drawn by later writers that the Indian delegation came to get this book and to carry it back to their people is certainly not warranted, much less is it indicated by Walker himself.

It will be noticed that the passage I have cited is given, not on the direct authority of the Indians, whose language the Wyandot very probably did not understand, but on the authority of General Clark. Walker's testimony is, therefore, only a résumé of what Clark had told him. Now, did Walker give the true sense of General Clark's words? A gentleman of St. Louis, Mr. E. W. Sehon, as Bishop Bashford¹⁴ informs us, submitted the *Christian Advocate* of March 1, 1833, containing Walker's letter, to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, asking him whether the account of his conversation with Walker was correct. "General Clark informed me," says Mr. Sehon, "that the publication was correct, and that the cause of the visit of the Indians was: Two of their number had received an education at some Jesuitical School in Montreal, Canada, and had returned to the tribe, and endeavored, as far as possible, to instruct their brethren how the whites approached the Great Spirit. A spirit of enquiry was aroused, a deputation was appointed, and a tedious journey of three thousand miles was performed to learn for themselves of Jesus and Him crucified." Of course, "Jesuitical" for Jesuit, and "three thousand miles" for two thousand are not slips of the tongue of Governor Clark, but slips of the pen of Mr. Sehon. There are other slight discrepancies from the full and correct account of Bishop Rosati which may be or may not be due to General Clark. In any case, Mr. Sehon's report of General Clark's explanation establishes the fact that the delegation was sent under Catholic auspices, and therefore could not have come for Protestant missionaries and their Book of Directions, but only for Catholic Priests, who would teach their nations the religion they had learnt to love and practice in Catholic Canada.

The Reverend Samuel Parker in his *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, is quoted by James W. Bashford as attributing the first knowledge of Christianity among the Nez Percés to Pierre C. Pambrun, a Roman Catholic, but this testimony is not to the point, as it refers to a somewhat later date, when the Americans were already swarming through the wild, cold mountains.¹⁵ Yet it is

¹³ Reprinted in full in C. T. Johnson's *The Evolution of a Lament*, p. p. 8-10.

¹⁴ Cf. Bashford, *The Oregon Missions*, p. 3.

¹⁵ There is a brief note on Pierre C. Pambrun in Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. I, p. 35, with a reference to Blanchet's *Catholic Church in Oregon*. Cf. W. Irving, *Captain Bonneville*, p. 301. Chapter 34.

not only possible, but more than probable that the Flat-Heads and Nez Percés received some early knowledge of the Christian religion from the trappers and traders of the Northwest and Pacific Fur Companies, the rank and file of whom were, as Chittenden says, "staunch Roman Catholics," who certainly would not help in promoting a scheme of introducing Protestant missionaries anywhere, least of all in their own wild haunts of the Rocky Mountains.

But whatever persons, White or Indian, were instrumental in bringing the earliest knowledge of the Christian religion to the tribes, on the Columbia River, it is plain that to them, teachers as well as disciples, Christianity meant Catholicity, and furthermore that their instructions had fallen on good ground. Bancroft in the *History of Oregon* has a long note¹⁶ in further elucidation of the acknowledged fact, that the Flatheads were in the habit of placing a wooden cross at the head of the graves of their dead, giving a number of religious ideas and practices of the natives. "It will be remembered," says Bancroft, "that the Dalles people observed Sunday as a holiday, in the manner of the Catholic Church. . . . So well advanced in the Christian religion were they (the Flatheads, Nez Percés and their neighbors), according to Bonneville, that they would not raise their camps on Sunday, nor fish, hunt or trade on that day, except in case of severe necessity, but passed a portion of the day in religious ceremonies, the chiefs leading the devotions and afterwards giving a sort of sermon upon abstaining from lying, stealing, cheating and quarrelling, and the duty of being hospitable to strangers. Prayers and exhortations were also made in the morning on week days. . . . Besides Sundays they likewise observe the cardinal holidays of the Roman Catholic Church." Of the Flatheads John Wyeth, a companion of Captain Bonneville, says: "I have never known an instance of theft among them, neither have I known any quarrelling nor lying. . . . They have a mild, playful, laughing disposition, and this is portrayed in their countenances. They are polite and unobtrusive. With all their quietness of spirit, they are brave when put to the test, and are an overmatch for an equal number of Black feet, their inveterate enemies." All these traits had been observed among the Flatheads and Nez Percés long before any missionary, Catholic or Protestant, had been seen among them, and find their best, I may say their only satisfactory explanation in the fact that as early as 1816 Catholic Iroquois had instructed them, as best they could, in the tenets and practices of the Catholic religion.

We have seen from the testimony so far adduced, that two of the St. Louis party of four Flatheads and Nez Percés received Baptism at the hand of the priests of the St. Louis Cathedral and, having died, were buried with the Catholic rites. What became of the two remaining members of the embassy? In 1841 there appeared the celebrated work of George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians*, written during the

¹⁶ Bancroft, *l. c.* vol. I. p. p. 116-118.

eight years of travel from 1832-1839. Letter No. 48 in Volume II refers to these Indians, who as Catlin states, "were a part of a delegation that came across the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis a few years since to enquire for the truth of the representation which, they said, some white men had made amongst them, that our religion was better than theirs, and that they would all be lost if they did not embrace it. Two old and venerable men¹⁷ of this party died in St. Louis, and I traveled 2000 miles (companion of these two young fellows) toward their own country, and became much pleased with their manners and dispositions. The last mentioned of the two died near the mouth of the Yellowstone River on his way home, with disease he had contracted in the civilized district; and the other one, I have since learned, arrived safely among his friends, conveying to them the melancholy intelligence of the deaths of all the rest of the party; but with assurances at the same time from General Clark and many Reverend gentlemen that the report which they had heard was well founded, and that missionaries—good and religious men—would soon come amongst them to teach this religion, so that they could all understand and have the benefits of it. When I first heard the report of the object of this extraordinary mission across the mountains I could scarcely believe it, but on conversing with General Clark on a later occasion, I was fully convinced of the fact."

It will be seen that George Catlin's report of what he heard from the two surviving members of the Nez Percé and Flathead Indian delegation, agrees substantially with that of Bishop Rosati, except that the first bringers of Gospel tidings according to Rosati were "two Indians"; according to Catlin, "some white men"; but this difference is not necessarily contradictory, but rather complementary, in as far as some of the Indians may have first heard of the Christian religion from some Catholic woodranger or trader, whilst others depended for their information on their Iroquois friends from Canada.

Another account, namely that of the trader with whom Catlin and the two Indians made the homeward journey, is recorded by Marcus Whitman himself in his Journal of 1835. It gives one new fact which fits in perfectly with the accounts we have so far seen. But we must give it entire:

The following is the history of these Indians that came to St. Louis to gain a knowledge of the Christian religion, as I received it from the trader¹⁸ under whose protection they came and returned. He says, their object was to gain religious knowledge. For this purpose the Flat-Head Tribe delegated one of their principal chiefs, and two of their principal men, and the Nez Percé tribe a like delegation, it being a joint delegation of both tribes. In addition to this delegation a young Nez Percé came along. When they came to Council Bluffs, two of the Flat-Head

¹⁷ It has been objected that the description "two old and venerable men" does not fit the two Indians that died in St. Louis in 1831, as one of them is described by Edmond Saulnier as being about forty-four years old. Yet, in the estimation of a mere boy, as the narrator was at the time, forty-four years may have seemed to be sufficiently advanced to merit the epithets old and venerable. And the Indian called Paul may have been much older for all we know, his age not being mentioned in the Record.

¹⁸ Who the trader was we cannot say, but as the great majority of them were French Catholics, we may assume that the one mentioned was of the Faith also.

and one of the Nez Percé returned home, and the other Flathead, the chief, and the Nez Percé chief, and the remaining one of the delegation, and the young Indian (Nez Percé) came to St. Louis, where they remained through the winter. At St. Louis two of them died, and the only remaining one of the delegation died on his return at the mouth of the Yellowstone, so that there was no one to return but the young man."

According to this there were originally six delegates, three from the Nez Percé, Choppunich, and three from the Flat-Heads (Salishan) together with the Nez Percé youth, seven all told. But as two Flat-Head and one Nez Percé delegate returned home from about halfway of the journey, there were only two Nez Percé and one Flat-Head left of the delegation, four in all, if we add the Indian companion. Of these one Nez Percé and the only Flat-Head left were baptized on their death bed and buried in St. Louis. The two remaining Nez Percés left St. Louis in the Spring of 1832, but the only remaining delegate dying on the way, the volunteer companion alone returned to the expectant tribes.

We have one more testimony to offer, one we have never seen quoted, by the Rev. P. J. Verhaegen, S.J., Provincial of the Western Province of the Society of Jesus, written on May 3, 1840:

We had it in contemplation to open a new mission among the Flathead Indians, on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. During the administration of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Du Bourg, (Rosati) a deputy from them arrived in St. Louis, for the purpose of procuring a priest. This deputy died shortly after his arrival at this place. In 1835 a second deputation of a father and his two sons, reached the University of St. Louis. We could not, at that time, entertain the project, on account of the paucity of our numbers and the limited means at the disposal of the Superior of Missions. We therefore beheld with the deepest regret, the deputies returning to their remote country, without having accomplished their object. In the month of October 1839 a third deputation of two Indians, arrived at the University, having the same object in view. Moved by the ardent desires of these distant and desolate children, who called so perseveringly for those who might break the bread of life to them, we resolved to gratify their wishes and to send two Fathers in the Spring. The two deputies left St. Louis, full of joy at the happy prospect—one of them remained at Westport, (now Kansas City) to await the arrival of the Fathers, the other returned to the nations beyond the Rocky Mountains, by whom he had been sent, to report to them the success of his mission and to prepare a band of warriors with whom he was to return in the Spring to meet the missionaries and his companion at a designated point. At the opening of Spring, the time appointed for the fulfilment of our promise, when the Caravan of the Fur Company was about to start for the mountains, the want of the necessary funds rendered it impossible for us to send two Fathers. The scarcity of money was so great, that we could not obtain, on loan, the small amount of one thousand dollars, required for the outfit. In consequence of these difficulties we were enabled to send only one Father (De Smet). He left us on the fifth of April to accompany the caravan of the Fur Company.¹⁹

¹⁹ Father Verhaegen's Report To the Most Rev. Archbishop and Right Rev. Bishops in Provincial Council assembled, May 3, 1840. MS. in Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

It will be noticed that Father Verhaegen speaks of but one delegate of the Flatheads arriving and dying in St. Louis. According to Whitman's account there was but one Flathead, the other three being Nez Percés, and Father Verhaegen is speaking exclusively of the Flathead mission. The second deputation was on its way, when Whitman wrote, and the third and last brought permanent results in the mission established among the tribe by Father De Smet, S.J.

It is hardly necessary, in the face of this testimony corroborating Bishop Rosati's account as contained in his letter of Dec. 31, 1831, to advert to the legendary story with a slight foundation in fact, that these Indians really came to secure a Book, the Protestant Bible, and departed with the wild lament, that they had come for the "Book of Heaven," the "Book of God," but that the Book was not there where General Clark had brought them; that they had been loaded with gifts, but that the Book was not among them, that no white man would go with them, and no white man's Book would make the way plain. This Protestant embellishment of the historical facts, originating as we have seen, with the Wyandot half-breed William Walker Jr., who stated that the Flatheads and Nez Percés on the far away Columbia River had been told, that the white men far to the rising sun had a book containing directions "as to the way of pleasing the Great Spirit." Here was a call for Protestant enlightenment; for, of course, the Catholics of St. Louis, had not the Book, or at least would not give it.²⁰ The Protestants of St. Louis, at that time, must also have been short of Bibles: for living at St. Louis about half a year, and being led here and there, the white man's book, alas, was not among the gifts they had been loaded with, and the "Book of Heaven" would not make their way plain. The whole story has such an unnatural tone, and is so plainly gotten up for a special purpose, that the author of *The Evolution of a Lament*²¹ comes to the conclusion that, "in the historical garden of the Pacific Northwest, in the course of years, these rootless flowers will die out, and there will yet remain strength and beauty in abundance." Mr. Elliott's words seem but an echo of the prediction made by one of the early Fathers in these missions, the Rev. F. X. Kuppens, S.J.: "These rocky hills will bloom like a garden of roses."

The real flowering and fruitage of these remarkable embassies are to be found in the celebrated Catholic Oregon Missions founded by Father Peter De Smet, S.J., in 1840, and continued to the present day by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the California Province.²²

It would be a most pleasant task to sketch the origin and the early triumphs and vicissitudes of the Oregon missions: yet that subject is a very wide one, and has been ably treated by such historians,

²⁰ Of course, there was no shortage of Bibles in St. Louis at the time, at least not among the Catholic priests and people. But what good would a Bible in any of the languages of the world, except, perhaps the Salishan tongue, have done the poor Indians, who could very probably neither read nor write? The talk about the Book which the Indians came to get and carry with them is mere camouflage, i. e. an untruth with a sinister purpose.

²¹ C. T. Johnson, or rather J. M. Elliott.

²² Cf. L. B. Palladino, S.J., *Indian and White in the Northwest*, Baltimore, 1894, of which noble monument of a noble work, we understand, a new edition is in preparation.

as Father Palladino,²³ Bishop Blanchet,²⁴ Father Van Rensselaer,²⁵ Ronan,²⁶ Chittenden and Richardson,²⁷ and by the Founder, Father De Smet²⁸ himself. These authors give us a comprehensive view of the grandest missionary work of the nineteenth century in its religious, social, economical and political aspect. In regard to its civilizing influence I would quote the generous words of a man, who for many years held the highest position of honor and trust our State could confer, and whose name is enrolled among the truly great men of the nation, Senator George G. Vest. It was in the summer of 1884, shortly after my ordination, that I had the honor of making the acquaintance of Senator Vest. Impressed as I was by the historical importance of a former member of the Cabinet of President Jefferson Davis and the present United States Senator, I was, of course, delighted when a few weeks later, in my quiet country mission of Portage des Sioux, I received a copy of a speech delivered by him in the Senate on the burning question of the appropriations for the Catholic Indian Schools. From this speech I would quote a few passages of praise and just acknowledgment of what the Jesuit Fathers of the Oregon Mission have accomplished in civilizing and christianizing the Indians in the Oregon country, and what they would have accomplished in the Indian Territory as well, if they had been given a free hand and a little more generous support. Senator Vest had been appointed a member of a Special Committee sent out to investigate the Indian Reservations in the West. On May 12, 1884, the question as to the appropriation for the schools came up in the United States Senate, and the Senator from Missouri made his report in an impressive speech, from which I quote:

"In all my wanderings in Montana last summer I saw but one ray of light on the subject of Indian education . . . the system adopted by the Jesuits is the only practical system for the education of the Indian, and the only one that has resulted in anything at all."

Realizing that there was an anti-Catholic feeling at the bottom of the opposition to the Jesuit Schools, Senator Vest thought proper to state his own position in regard to the Catholic religion:

I was reared in the old Scotch Presbyterian church; my father was an elder in it, and my earliest impressions were that the Jesuits had horns and hoofs and tails and that there was a faint tinge of sulphur in the circumambient air whenever one crossed your path. Some years ago, I was assigned by the Senate to duty upon the Committee of Indian

23 *Indian and White in the Northwest*, L. B. Palladino, Baltimore, John Murphy, 1894.

24 Blanchet, *Notes on the Oregon Mission*, Portland, Oregon, 1883.

25 Van Rensselaer, S.J., *Sketch of the Catholic Church in Montana*. American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phil. 1887.

26 Ronan, P., *History of the Flathead Indians*. Helena, Montana, 1876.

27 Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J.* 1801-1873. (Four Volumes). New York, Francis Harper, 1905.

28 Of De Smet's works, the most important in this connection are the *Letters and Sketches*, Philadelphia, 1843, *The Origin, Progress, and Prospects of the Catholic Missions of the Rocky Mountains*, Philadelphia, 1843, *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains* 1845 and 1846, New York, Edward Dunnigan, 1847, and lastly, *New Indian Sketches*, New York, Sadlier (1885).

Affairs, and I was assigned by the committee, of which Mr. Dawes was then the very zealous chairman, to examine the Indian schools in Wyoming and Montana. I did so under great difficulties and with labor which I could not now physically perform. I visited every one of them. I crossed the great buffalo expanses of country, where you can now see only the wallows and trails of those extinct animals, and I went to all these schools. I wish to say now what I have said before in the Senate, and it is not the popular side of the question by any means, that I did not see in all my journey, which lasted for several weeks, a single school that was doing any educational work worthy the name of educational work unless it was under the control of the Jesuits. I did not see a single government school, especially these day schools, where there was any work done at all.

Something has been said here about the difference between enrollment and attendance. I found day schools with 1500 Indian children enrolled, and not ten in attendance, except on meat days, as they call it, when beeves were killed by the agent and distributed to the tribe. Then there was a full attendance. I found schools where there were old, broken-down preachers and politicians receiving \$1,200 a year and a house to live in for the purpose of conducting these Indian day schools, and when I cross-examined them, as I did in every instance, I found that the actual attendance was about three to five in the hundred of the enrollment. I do not care what reports were made, for they generally come from interested parties. You cannot educate the children with the day school.

The Jesuits have elevated the Indian wherever they have been allowed to do so, without interference by bigotry and fanaticism, and the cowardice of insectivorous politicians, who are afraid of the A. P. A., and the votes that can be cast against them in their districts and their states. They have made him a Christian, and, above even that, they have made him a workman able to support himself and those dependent upon him. Go to the Flathead Reservation in Montana and look from the cars of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and you will see the result of what Father De Smet and his associates began and what was carried on successfully until the A. P. A. and the cowards who are afraid of it struck down the appropriation.

Go through this reservation and look at the work of the Jesuits, and what is seen? You find comfortable dwellings, herds of cattle and horses, intelligent, self-respecting Indians. I have been to their houses, and found under the system adopted by the Jesuits that after they have educated these boys and girls, and they had intermarried, the Jesuits would go out and break up a piece of land and build them a house, and that couple became the nucleus of civilization in the neighborhood. They had been educated under the system which prevented them from going back to the tepee after a day's tuition. The Jesuits found that in order to accomplish their purpose of teaching them how to work and depend upon themselves, it was necessary to keep them in school, a boarding school, by day and night, and to allow their parents to see them only in presence of the brothers or the nuns.

These Jesuits are not there, as one of them told me, for the love of the Indian. Old Father Ravalli told me, lying upon his back in that narrow cell, with the crucifix above him: "I am here not for the love of the Indian, but for the love of Christ." He was there without any pay except the approval of his own conscience. If you send one of our people, a clergyman, a politician even, to perform this work among the Indians, he looks back to the fleshpots of Egypt. He has a family, perchance, that he cannot take with him on the salary he receives. He is divided between the habits and customs and luxuries of civilized life, and the self-sacrificing duties that devolve upon him in this work of teaching the Indians.

The Jesuit has no family. He has no ambition. He has no idea except to do his duty as God has given him to see it; and I am not afraid to say this, because I speak from personal observation, and no man ever went among these Indians with more intense prejudice against the Jesuits than I did, when I left the city of Washington to perform this duty.

These brave words of Senator Vest, whilst placing the seal of condemnation on our narrow-minded national policy in regard to the Catholic Indian schools, open, at the same time, a bright vista into a most interesting historical field. We, however, must stop here, with the conclusion, from well established facts, that the purpose of the first as well as of the second and third Indian delegation to St. Louis from the Pacific slope, was not to get "the Book," but rather to get a Black gown, in other words, was not a Protestant but a Catholic venture, leading to great results for the Country as well as for the Church.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER



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NOTES



HISTORICAL

The question as to the exact spot within the present city limits of St. Louis, where the sacrifice of the Mass was first offered, may not seem so easy of solution.

Edwards, in his *Great West*, seems to imply that it was the "Church block" between Market, Walnut, Second and Third streets, probably on account of the fact that it really did contain the first church edifice ever erected in St. Louis. Father L. Kenny, S.J., in establishing the claims of the long-forgotten village of "La Rivière des Pères" as the earliest white settlement in Missouri, and incidentally placing it on the north bank of the river of that name, must, of necessity, claim that the first Mass in St. Louis was celebrated by some Jesuit Father at the mouth of the River des Peres about December 3, 1700.

But there was an earlier encampment of priests, though only a temporary one, on the site of St. Louis, when the Priests of the Foreign Missions, Montigny, Saint-Cosme, Davion and Thamer de la Source voyaged down the Mississippi in 1699. We quote from Saint-Cosme's letter to the Bishop of Quebec: "The next day (i. e., December 7, 1699), about noon we reached the Tamarois. . . . As they had given trouble to some of Mr. de Tonty's men, a year before, they were afraid, and all the women and children fled from the village (Cahokia); but we did not go to it; as we wished to prepare for the Feast of the Conception, we cabined on the other side of the river. Mr. de Tonty went to the village and, having reassured them a little, he brought us the chief, who begged us to go and see him in his village (Cahokia). We promised to do so, and next day, Feast of the Conception, *after saying our Masses*, we went with Mr. de Tonty and seven of our men armed. . . . The Tamarois were cabined on an island lower down than their village." (Shea, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, p. 66).

Now, the village of the Tamarois was in the neighborhood of the present Cahokia, opposite about the foot of Arsenal street; the island on which they cabined at the time was our Arsenal Island. The place where the first Mass was said in St. Louis is the river bank somewhat north of Arsenal Street, and the day was December 8, 1699, Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Four priests were in the company: Montigny, Saint-Cosme, Davion and Thamer de la Source; and most probably, all four celebrated the holy sacrifice on that day, two hundred and twenty-one years ago next December.

Various references are made to Father Angelo Inglesi in the correspondence exchanged between Bishop Du Bourg and Propaganda dur-

ing the years 1821 and 1822, published in the pages of the REVIEW. Little is found there, however, touching the activity of the Bishop's envoy on behalf of the Louisiana Mission. To his credit must be ascribed in part the organization of the Lyons Association for the Propagation of the Faith, and the sending to America of several bands of zealous laborers, one of whom was to occupy a place of prominence in the American hierarchy as first Bishop of Galveston and Archbishop of New Orleans—John Mary Odin. Inglesi secured money, too: donations and loans. Of the latter one, the "Montmorenci loan," indirectly at least, was to play a part in the financing of the Cathedral on Walnut Street. The story of this loan is a curious aftermath of Inglesi's embassy.

While in France, Bishop Du Bourg's envoy who, thanks to his family connections, obtained entrance into the most exclusive circles and rubbed elbows with the nobility, contracted with Duke Matthew of Montmorenci and his consort for a loan of 30,000 francs (\$6,000) in the name of his Bishop. There was, it appears, an understanding between the prelate and his agent that the latter would eventually, after his return to America, pay off the debt out of his own patrimony. For reasons sufficiently explained in the Notes accompanying the Correspondence, Inglesi did not come back west; he remained some time in Philadelphia, where he became involved in the Harold controversy, and left shortly afterwards for Haiti, where he died June 13, 1825, of yellow fever contracted in attending the patients stricken with the epidemic.

His estrangement from Bishop Du Bourg in 1823, and still more his death, put the prelate in a rather delicate position. The Montmorenci loan had been negotiated in his name; and, indeed, as soon as he had received the money, he had invested it in the purchase of a piece of property on the River des Peres, which he intended as an endowment for the See of St. Louis. After his return to France in 1826, in one of his first letters he promised to Bishop Rosati to make over to him all that he had acquired for the Mission. Months passed, however, before he spoke again of this settlement. The reason was that he considered himself in honor bound personally for the Montmorenci debt; and though no mortgage had been given, he regarded it as a matter of equity that the land in St. Louis County should be kept by him as a guarantee of the loan. From Montauban he confided his scruples on this score to Bishop Rosati on April 22 and November 29, 1827:

I carry in France a heavy debt, contracted in my name by Father Inglesi, the amount of which (it was to be paid back by him) was used for the purchase of the St. Louis land. It is a matter of 30,000 francs (\$6,000). I have devoted to its payment all that I hope to get from my patrimony in San Domingo. But how much will this bring. I know not; still, on the other hand, I must not neglect a transaction wherein my honor is involved. Now, this will eat up all my savings for years. . . . Fortunately, the deal was made with people of high rank, very rich and very pious, who do not want me to *bother myself about* it, and ask for no interests, although they do not renounce the principal. . . .

I consider the land on the River des Peres as mortgaged *de jure* (although it is not *de facto*) to the Montmorenci family, which furnished the money for it—until I am able to pay it back.

As time rolled on Bishop Du Bourg saw that savings he could realise none, as, despite the strictest economy (he even lived some time in his seminary to save expenses), the paltry salary which the French royal government doled out to its Bishops was but a miserable pittance, scarcely enabling them to live. Moreover, it became every day more evident that nothing was to be expected from San Domingo. He had not as yet made conveyance to Bishop Rosati of *any* of his American holdings, and the St. Louis prelate felt all the more uneasy that he was then planning his Cathedral. On January 28, 1829, Du Bourg wrote to him:

I have qualms of conscience on the matter of leaving the Montmorenci family without any other security to cover the 30,000 francs which I mentioned to you, but the land on the River des Peres. It would be a sorry return for their zeal and generosity. Hitherto I had reckoned on my savings to gradually pay off that debt. But I am not yet out of the debts I had to make for settling here. . . . The indemnity which I had been hoping to receive in compensation for our losses in San Domingo will, it seems, dwindle down to nothing. For these reasons have I hesitated to make a pure donation of the various holdings I still have in America.

He accordingly proposed that Rosati buy from him the property on the Des Peres, "Henry's family" (of negroes), his library¹ and whatever articles of furniture he had left behind—the whole for 20,000 francs, payable in four yearly notes of 5,000 francs each, in favor of the Montmorenci family. There would thus remain to him (Du Bourg) only 10,000 francs to pay, for which he deemed the furniture of his episcopal residence to be sufficient security. This was, he added, for the Bishop of St. Louis an excellent bargain, as the whole was practically worth twice as much as the price asked for.

The offer looked good to Rosati; he accepted it, and early in the summer, 1829, sent the four notes payable March 1, 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1833 (the date of maturity of the last three notes was, the following year, on Du Bourg's advice and for reasons of convenience, changed to July 1st). Still Bishop Du Bourg in return did not release the property on the Des Peres, as we learn from his letter of September 25, 1829:

I am forwarding your four notes to the Duchess Matthew of Montmorenci, together with two from myself, to complete the 30,000 francs due her, and thus put an end to a matter of honor which has caused me much trouble. . . . Life's uncertainty, however, compels me to maintain the mortgage on the property until the last cent is paid.

Rosati's first note was honored at maturity by the treasurer of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, out of the allowance to the Diocese of St. Louis. The arrangement was that the other three notes would be paid in the same way. During the first months of 1831, however, Bishop Rosati found himself in sore need of money for push-

¹ Thus did Bishop Du Bourg's library become the possession of the Bishops and Archbishops of St. Louis. It forms the bulk of the "St. Louis Diocesan Library," the home of which was formerly at St. John's Rectory, and is now at the Kenrick Seminary.

ing on the work of the Cathedral. In such circumstances, \$1,000 yearly meant a great deal. On March 12, 1831, he proposed to Bishop Du Bourg a new arrangement in regard to the remaining two notes.

"I see," replied the latter on June 13, "your great difficulty to get ready money for the construction of your Cathedral, and I realize how critical your position is. . . . I shall neglect nothing in order to help you. According to your wishes, I will assume your obligation for your two notes (July 1, 1832 and 1833) yet due to Mrs. de Montmorenci, that is, 10,000 francs. I am going to try to sell some government bonds left me by my poor brother, Louis,² to the amount of 20 to 22,000 francs, in order to put the proceeds at your disposal. I trust I may be able to sell them without difficulty. . . . The whole means a loan to you of the sum of 30 to 32,000 francs (about 6 to 7,000 dollars), for which I am willing to take as payment a bonded interest of 6 per cent, covered by a mortgage on the interest of the Church property you have just sold to Morton, of St. Louis. In other words, you will be selling me for 30,000 francs, for instance, 1800 francs of the interest owed you by Morton on said property, and so on in proportion to the funds I may procure you; for it is possible that there are still some large outstanding notes due to my brother Louis, in which case I shall be happy to put eventually the returns at your disposal. But as, on the other hand, the inheritance of this dear brother was given me only in trust on behalf of some of our nephews who are in poverty; and, on the other hand, French government bonds yield now at least 6 per cent, I should be guilty of injustice in their regard, did I not stipulate for this interest.

Three months later Bishop Du Bourg announced to Father Saulnier, who was his proxy in this business, that, instead of 30,000, it was 35,000 francs which he put at the disposal of Bishop Rosati; for this sum Saulnier could draw at once on Mr. Huguenin, of Bordeaux; for the remainder of the Morton loan on half of the Church property (the whole loan represented a principal of 44,000 francs), he (Saulnier) would sign two notes of 4,500 francs each, payable, the one after one year, and the other after two years. In the beginning of August, 1832, all these transactions were concluded, and Bishop Du Bourg sent the following statement to St. Louis:

Dr. L. W. Du Bourg, Bishop of Montauban, to Rt. Cr. Rev. Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, Mo.	
To sale of a land interest at 6 % of 2640 francs.....	44,000
To yearly interest payable April 1, 1833.....	2,640
Balance due to L. W. Du Bourg	1,095
	47,735
By interest at 6 % on 35,000 from April 1, 1831, to April 1, 1833 (two years)	4,200
By d° on 6,000 francs since April 1, 1833 (1 year and 9 months).....	450
By d° on 2,000 francs from July 1, 1832. to April 1, 1833	80
By principal paid at above- mentioned dates	43,000
	47,735

² Louis Joseph Du Bourg, "le Beau Du Bourg," as he was surnamed in New Orleans, was, after his return to Bordeaux, the unofficial, but most active agent in France for the Louisiana Mission. He died at the old family mansion, 7 Rue St. Seurin, at Bordeaux, on November 4, 1830. As he was a bachelor, his estate went to the Bishop, his sole surviving brother.

Agreed on the amount of the present account, amounting to *forty-seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-five francs*, whereby, beside the interest of 2640 francs, maturing on April 1, 1833, there remains due to L. W. Du Bourg a balance of *one thousand and ninety-five francs*, which he begs Bishop Rosati kindly to accept as an humble offering for his Cathedral. Montauban, August 13, 1832.

✠L. Wm. Du Bourg, Bp. of Montauban.

But what of the Montmorenci notes? It will be recalled that Du Bourg, besides the two which he took in 1831 from Bishop Rosati, had subscribed two in his own name. The two turned over from St. Louis matured on July 1, 1832 and 1833, respectively; his own were payable in 1834 and 1835. He paid at maturity the Rosati notes; but when he died at Besançon, on December 12, 1833, his own notes were still due. We must, therefore, turn to his last will, dictated to Canon Querry, his secretary, from his death-bed, just a week before his demise, to find out his dispositions in regard to this debt:

I owe two notes of 5,000 francs each, which I, out of an excessive tenderness of conscience, which I have much regretted, consented to the widowed Duchess of Montmorenci, maturing, the one about next May or June, and the other a year after. Believing I am about to appear before God, I do not hesitate to declare solemnly to said Lady, that, in conscience, she has no right to that money. A few reflections on the origin of this pretended debt will suffice, if needs be, to convince her of that. My executor shall make for her a copy of the present article of this, my last will; if My Lady insists on the payment of these notes, my signature must be honored; at all events, he should not neglect to take back the notes.

Whether "My Lady" insisted or not on the payment of these notes, we know not. At any rate, the issue, one way or the other, was not to benefit any either Bishop Rosati or the Diocese of St. Louis: a codicil to Archbishop Du Bourg's will stipulated that, in case the Montmorenci notes were canceled, Father Leclerc and Canon Querry were to receive one thousand francs each out of that money, the remainder going, according to the tenor of the will, to the Archbishop's niece, Caroline Du Bourg de Sainte-Marie, who was a widow and in very moderate circumstances.

From Cardinal Gibbons' book, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years*, we will quote the following words in just appreciation of our great Archbishop Kenrick, with whom he was on intimate terms: In describing the proceedings of the Vatican Council, he says:

Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis was among the most noteworthy prelates from the United States. Archbishop Kenrick spoke Latin with most admirable ease and elegance. I observed him, day after day, reclining in his seat with half-closed eyes, listening attentively to the debates without taking any notes. And yet so tenacious was his memory that, when his turn came to ascend the rostrum, he reviewed the speeches of his colleagues with remarkable fidelity and precision without the aid of manuscript or memoranda.

In regard to the question that the Vatican Council had to settle as to where the true seat of infallibility lies, he again refers to Archbishop Kenrick, who was opposed to the definition of papal infallibility, but when the council decided in favor of it, "then he most nobly accepted it and published it in his diocese. Years afterward somebody spoke of the Archbishop to Pope Leo XIII, and criticised his attitude during the Vatican Council to the Holy Father, upon which the Holy Father replied, indignantly, "The metropolitan of St. Louis was a noble man and a true Christian Bishop. When he sat in council as a judge of the faith, he did according to his conscience and the moment the decision was taken, although it was against him, submitted with filial piety of a Catholic and a Christian." And from this Cardinal Gibbons comments upon the theory of some that the Catholic Church has no freedom of thought. He quotes Archbishop Kenrick again as saying that "the Pope's power was given for edification, not for destruction; if he used it for love of domination scarcely will he meet with obedient populations."

In this connection it is proper to refer to the fact that Cardinal Gibbons is the last "living Father of the Vatican Council." "Now alone upon this earth," he says, "I can report what happened within these sacred walls." It will prove interesting to compare the Cardinal's opinion with that rendered by Father Granderau in his great *History of the Vatican Council*.

To Mr. Scannell O'Neill, who kindly contributed the interesting *Notes on Sister Mary Theonella Hite and her Family*, published in our last number (pp. 97—100), we are once more indebted for the following, dealing with a member of one of our old St. Louis families—the Garesché family, so well represented to this day among the Catholics of our city. This genealogico-biographical note was first printed in *The Catholic Columbian* (Columbus, O.), of July 30, 1920:

THE CATHOLIC DAUGHTERS OF LOUIS McLANE

In the year 1811, James Peale, the famous American painter, placed on enduring canvas the "Rencontre Between Colonel Allen McLane and Two British Horsemen." Colonel McLane (1746-1829) was a valiant patriot of the Revolutionary era who took an active part in many of its principal battles. In personal combat with three British dragoons near Frankford, Penna., he killed one, wounded another, and compelled the third to flee. Two of Col. McLane's granddaughters, Juliette and Mary, have peculiar interest for us, for the reason that both of them became Catholics. Juliette McLane Garesché and Mary McLane Hobbins (let their names be held in reverent affection) were the daughters of Louis McLane (1786-1857) and Catherine Mary Milligan. Their father, whose handsome features adorn our old Treasury Notes, was successfully member of Congress, United States Senator, twice Minister to England, on the last occasion of which he had as his Secretary of Legation no less a personage than Washington Irving; Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, 1831-1833; Secretary of State, 1833-34, and president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. They were the sisters of Robert M. McLane (1815-1898), member of Congress, envoy to Japan, China, Korea, etc., Minister to Mexico, Governor of Maryland and United States Minister to France; of Rebecca, wife of Philip Hamilton, son of the

great Alexander Hamilton; and of Lydia, wife of General Joseph E. Johnston, the noted commander of Confederate forces during the Civil War.

Juliette McLane was born at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1826, and died at St. Michael, La., in 1885. The prospect of marriage with a Catholic gentleman of St. Louis, Mr. Bauduy P. Garesché, brought her into intimate relations with her future sisters-in-law, who endeavored to enlighten her concerning the saving truths of the Catholic religion. Finding that she was unable to reply to their criticisms of Protestantism, Miss McLane procured books and began a long and systematic study of the controversy between Protestantism and Catholicity. The result was that she lost faith in her own creed and absented herself from the services of her denomination. Her parents, noting her change of views, suggested to their parish clergyman that he do something to bring her to a knowledge of the "error of her ways." To this end he one Sunday preached a virulently anti-Catholic sermon. To show her disapproval, Miss McLane arose right in the middle of the sermon and walked out of the church. Her family spent the following winter in New York City, where Juliette followed with closest attention and profit to herself the eloquent sermons then being preached in the Cathedral by Archbishop Hughes. Her doubts now having been entirely set at rest, she was, with the reluctant consent of her parents, received into the Church by the Archbishop in the following spring. Her father was shortly afterward appointed United States Minister to England, and while resident in London, Miss McLane came to know and to reverence the Religious of the Sacred Heart. Her marriage to Mr. Garesché occurred on September 25, 1849, after which she left Baltimore, to which city her family had returned, to live in St. Louis. Two of her daughters—Lily and Catherine—having become Religious of the Sacred Heart, and Mrs. Garesché now being a widow and her other two children in the bosom of God, she entered the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Grand Coteau, La., on May 5, 1876, pronounced her vows in St. Louis in 1878, and made her solemn profession at the Mother House of her Order in Paris in 1881. After having served God faithfully in this country and New Zealand, Madame Garesché closed her eyes on the world at St. Michael, La., in 1885.

Madame Garesché's sister, Mary, married Dr. Joseph Hobbins (1816-1894), founder of the Medical Department of the University of Wisconsin, and eminent as a horticulturist, to whose efforts Madison, Wisconsin, owes the possession of so many fine trees. Dr. Hobbins was a native of England and became a Catholic through the influence of his future wife. Indeed from the day she was received into the Church Mary McLane Hobbins was ever a most zealous apostle of Jesus Christ, and to her edifying life and example many owed their grace of conversion. She often recounted her recollections of the great men and women she met in her father's house in London, including Tom Moore, and of having as a child sat entranced on the lap of Washington Irving as he spun his fascinating stories of the Alhambra and Sleepy Hollow. Mrs. Hobbins died at Madison, Wis., in 1897.

The above note supplements excellently those given on the Garesché family by Joseph Willcox in elucidation of the *Extracts from the Diary of Rev. Patrick Kenny*, published by him in the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society (Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 338 and foll.).

From the *Registre des Mariages* of the parish of St. Landry of Opelousas, La., was culled the following entry:

1812. September 16.

CHARTRAN, Louis, a native of St. Louis, of the Illinois, legitimate son of . . . (paper water-worn) . . . Chartran and Marie Gerardin, was united in matrimony to Zoe Courtableau, daughter of James Courtableau and . . . widow of Mr. Luke Collins.
Michael Bernard BARRIERE, Rector.

We are in receipt of *The Catholic Citizen's* Golden Jubilee Souvenir. This is, in size, a tiny booklet, but its few pages, as a short inscription on an historic landmark, brim over with the nervous energy which has inspired the valiant Catholic editors from the now long-distant day when the *Star of Bethlehem* arose over the green waters of the Bay of Milwaukee (October 1, 1869), and the *Catholic Vindicator* came forth, armed cap and pie, from the Rectory of Rev. John Casey, at Monroe, Wis. (November 3), 1870). Fifty years is a long span of life for any newspaper; and for a militant Catholic organ to attain this mature age is in itself evidence of a powerful vital principle animating the whole being. Humphrey J. Desmond has been, for well-nigh thirty years, *The Catholic Citizen's* life-principle. To the able, valiant and staunchly Catholic Editor and to the newspaper to which he has consecrated the best of his life, we offer our sincere congratulations and our earnest wishes.

Perhaps of all the charitable organizations of to-day none is so well known and so widespread as that of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Founded upon principles of charity laid down by the illustrious Saint whose name it bears, as a kind messenger, it has brought and is still bringing help and succor to the needy of every color and creed throughout the world. Far back in the sixteenth century there was born in Pouy, Gascony, France, Vincent de Paul, whose charity and love of the poor has confounded the world. Led on by a true love of God, which is best evinced in the love of neighbor, he devoted his best endeavors to the service of the needy and the afflicted. Calling about him bands of noble men and women, he formed them into conference and through them collected and distributed the necessities of life to the starving thousands of Paris and its surrounding regions. It is his spirit and principles that have guided the Catholic charities since his time. It was not, however, until May, 1833, that the organization that bears the name of St. Vincent de Paul was founded and elevated to its present high standard and efficiency. Frederick Ozanam, a brilliant young lawyer and author in Paris gathered about him seven of his youthful companions and formulated plans for the organization of a society whose object should be to administer to the wants of the poor and thereby answer the taunts of an irreligious world which was proclaiming the death of the Christian spirit of charity. The rules then formulated upon the principles of St. Vincent are those by which our conferences

are governed to-day. The society quickly gained in membership; new conferences were erected, so that to-day it can claim over two hundred thousand members, and there is no country on the globe whose poor do not feel its kind and benevolent influence.

Just twelve years after the inauguration of this noble work, Dr. Timothy Papin, returning from his studies in Paris, enthused by the achievements of the society in France and aided by Mr. Bryan Mullanphy, called together the prominent Catholic laymen of St. Louis, and in the same room in which the present Conference of the Old Cathedral meets, was organized the first Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in America, Thursday evening, November 20, 1845. In the minutes of this meeting, still extant, we read that Bryan Mullanphy presided; an election of officers took place. Dr. M. L. Linton was elected president; Bryan Mullanphy, first vice-president; Dennis Galvin, second vice-president; James Maguire Jr., secretary, and Patrick Ryder, treasurer. Glancing over the roster of members we find there many names prominent in the history of our city.

Missouri, though a *de facto* State since 1820, was admitted as such into the Union in 1821 by the proclamation of President Monroe. Admission into the Union was the necessary seal set upon the people's action by the national authorities. In 1820 Missouri had elected, as Walter B. Stevens remarks, "State officers who entered upon their duties. It had a Legislature which passed statutes. It chose, in due form, senators and representatives in Congress. It created a code which was interpreted by a Supreme Court. Congress, however, delayed the final recognition while statesmen wrangled over the technicalities of a compromise on the slavery question." The coming year, 1921, is, therefore, the Centennial year of our Statehood. A great civic celebration is contemplated to mark the auspicious event. The Church, that has proved itself the greatest civilizing influence in the State during its long and varied course will, no doubt, have a leading part in the proposed festivities.

The following account of the finding of the petrified body of a priest on the banks of the Arkansas River cannot claim any degree of historical certitude, as neither the correspondent's name, nor the precise locality of the incident are given; yet as a possible clue to further investigations it may prove of interest and value. We copy from the *Sunday Visitor*:

PETRIFIED BODY OF MISSIONARY

A correspondent of an Eastern paper gives this account of the finding of the petrified body of a Catholic Missionary on the bank of the Arkansas (in 1890):

"The laborers on a farm near this place exhumed yesterday the petrified body of a man clothed in the habit of a Roman Catholic priest. The dress and shoes and hose had also become stone, and the figure might have passed for the cunning handiwork of some great master of sculpture. The two hands were clasped about an ivory crucifix, which

hung from a rosary suspended about the neck, while the head of an arrow still protruding from the breast told the story of how the worthy Father met his death; and the fact, so plain to be seen, that the body was hastily buried without coffin, and the grave, unmarked by the smallest token, showed that he and his brethren, or some faithful friend, were fleeing from the Indians when he was killed. The petrified body was removed to the church, where it is now visited by crowds, and when it will shortly be given burial in consecrated ground. The face is that of a young man of refined and intellectual features, and the hands and feet are of elegant proportions. Those who profess to know declare that his shoes are of a fashion worn in the latter part of the seventeenth century."

Now the fact of the finding and its circumstances being admitted for argument's sake, further enquiry would undoubtedly lead to the *Poste of Arkansas*, the earliest settlement of whites within the territory of Arkansas, situated at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers. There was a Jesuit Mission established here among the Quapaw Indians on July 7, 1727, by Father Poisson, though the beginnings of the Arkansas Mission date back as far as November 26, 1689, when Tonty gave to Father Dablon, the Superior of the Canada Missions, a strip of land on Arkansas River, a little east of his fort, about eight acres, for a chapel and mission house. The Mission was to begin in November, 1690 (Cf. SHEA, *Catholic Missions*, p. 439).

The Librarians of the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis* are happy to report the following additions to the Library of the Society, and to express their thanks to the generous donors:

Gilbert Garraghan, S.J., *Catholic Beginnings of Kansas City, Missouri. An Historical Sketch.* Loyola University Press, Chicago, Ill., 1920. Donated by the Author.

Hepner, Adolf, *America's Aid to Germany in 1870-71.* St. Louis, Mo., 1905. Gift of Rev. F. G. Holweck.

Wm. Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay, *A Popular History of the United States. Four Volumes.* New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1878.

John R. Spears and A. H. Clark, *A History of the Mississippi Valley, from Its Discovery to the End of Foreign Dominion.* New York, A. S. Clark, 1903.

The Future of Foreign-Born Catholics. St. Louis, Mo. B. Herder, 1884.

P. Oswald Moosmueller, O.S.B. Bonifaz Wimmer, *Erzabt von St. Vinzenz in Pennsylvania.* New York, Benziger Brothers, 1891. Donated by Rev. J. Waeltermann.

Pastoral Instruction of the Bishop of Alton. Issued April 12th, 1875. Alton, Ill., 1875. Donated by Rev. P. Kaenders, Venice, Ill.

Pastoral Instruction of the Bishop of Alton. Issued February, the 23d, 1880. Alton, Ill., 1880. Donated by Rev. P. Kaenders.

SS. Patriarchae Benedicti Familiae Confoederatae. Romae, Typis Vaticanis, 1905. Gift of Conception Abbey, Mo.

Annuario Pontificio. Roma, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana. Seven Volumes, 1913-1919. Donated by Rev. F. G. Holweck.

Progress of the Catholic Church in America and the Great Columbian Catholic Congress of 1913. Fourth Edition. Chicago. J. S. Hyland & Company. 1893.

The United States. A Catalogue of Books relating to the History of its various States, Counties and Cities. Cleveland, O. The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1920.

The Catholic Advance. Christmas, 1919. Commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the Rt. Rev. John J. Hennessy, D.D., Bishop of Wichita.

Canon Glancey. *Orbis Catholicus*, A Year Book of the Catholic World. First Year of issue, 1916. London, the Courier Press.

J. B. Mueller, *Schematismus der deutschen und deutsch-sprechenden Priester in den Ver. Staaten Nord-Amerika's*. St. Louis, B. Herder, 1882. Donated by Rev. Dr. J. Molitor, Columbus, O.

Geo. F. Houck, *The Church in Northern Ohio and in the diocese of Cleveland*. Cleveland, Short and Forman. 1888. Donated by Dr. Jos. Molitor, Columbus, O.

Anuario Ecclesiastico, 1917. Año III. E. Subirana, Barcelona. Gift of Rev. F. G. Holweck.

Deed of Transfer of some property at Gravois (Kirkwood), St. Louis Co., from the United States to Rev. Peter R. Donnelly. St. Louis, Mo. Gift of Rt. Rev. Msgr. Tannrath.

Souvenir Book, Jasper, Indiana. 1916. Donated by Rev. Basil Heusler, O.S.B.

St. Michael's Church, Brookville, In. *Official Year Book*, 1920.

Louis De Cailly, *Memoirs of Bishop Loras*, First Bishop of Dubuque, Iowa. New York, 1897. Donated by Rev. F. A. Marks, Collinsville, Ill.



DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

Correspondence of Bishop Du Bourg with Propaganda

XXVIII.

CARDINAL CONSALVI TO BISHOP DU BOURG.¹

No. 28.

Illme ac Rme Domine

Quae nobis A. T. de florente statu, in quo res Catholica Loysianae² superioris versatur, ac non exiguis tam infidelium, quam heterodoxorum conversionibus novissime significavit, ea Emos Patres laetitiae, ac solatio maximo affecerunt. Quare dum Deo Patri misericordiarum debitas pro tanto beneficio gratias ago, tuam etiam sollicitudinem, ac sedulitatem plurimum in Domino commendo; ac licet Ampdo Tua stimulis non egeat, eam tamen etiam atque etiam excitare non desum, ut quod tanta laude coepisti, id pari semper alacritate, ac studio perficere velis, diligenter curans, ut et sylvicolae, apud quos Missionem instituisti, in sinum S. Matris Ecclesiae, opitulante Domino, perducantur, et incolae Novae Aureliae, ubi intemperantia, et multa vitiorum seges invaluit, ad rectam semitam revocentur. Quod S. Sedes peragere potuit in auxilium indigae istius Dioecesis, id quidem praestare non defuit munifica quatuor millium scutatorum Romanorum largitione, quorum mille jam accepsisse te arbitror per Rmum D. Guillelmum Poynter Vicarium Aplicum Londinensem, cui tutius visum est hanc pecuniae summam mittere; reliqua vero subinde per eandem viam ad te perferri curabo. Accepi autem epistolae exemplum, quae scripta fertur a muliere Perret Dno Inglesi: sed quamvis etiam ipse justificari vellet a crimine, quod illi (nescio an vere, vel perperam) imputatum est, alia tamen is praebuit levitatis, ac paucae modestiae specimina tum in choreis agendis, tum usu vestium, quae Ecclesiastico viro minime congruunt. Quamobrem licet ipse dexteritate, ac rebus agendis magnopere praestet, non eum tamen tanti facias velim, ut vigilare non debeas, ejusque spiritum

¹ Original in the Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

² The uncommon spelling Loysiana, as well as the handwriting of this document stamp it as the work of a new *minutante*.

diligenter probare. Quod autem attinet ad amplissimae istius Dioecesis divisionem, ea, quae proposita sunt, non satis adhuc matura videntur. Unum est, cui sine mora prospiciatur oportet, nempe neglecta Floridarum cura, quam Ampdo Tua, ut declaravit, ob magnam illius Provinciae distantiam gerere nullo modo potest. Quid autem consilii circa Floridas S. Cong. susceperit, de hoc quamprimum te faciam certiozem. Interim Deum precor ut Ampdm Tuam diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampdnis Tuae

Romae ex Aedibus S. Congnis de Propda Fide Die 11. Januarii, 1822.

Uti Frater studiosissimus,

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro-Prf.

R. P. D. Ludovico Guillelmo

Du Bourg Epo Novae Aureliae

in Loysiana / S. Ludovicum in Statu Missouri /

C. M. Pedicini Secrius.

TRANSLATION.

Right Reverend Dear Sir:—

Your Lordship's latest report³ of the flourishing condition of Catholicity in Upper Louisiana, and of the numerous conversions of both infidels and heretics, has greatly rejoiced and consoled Their Eminences. Wherefore to God, the Father of mercies, I return due thanks for these benefits, whilst your solicitude and activity I most highly commend in the Lord; and although Your Lordship stands in no need of the spur, yet again and again I must urge that what you have so laudably begun, you should determine to achieve with the same eagerness and zeal, working diligently in order to bring, with the help of God, the savages among whom you have established missions⁴ into the bosom of Holy Mother Church; and also in order that the people of New Orleans, among whom intemperance and a plentiful crop of vices are prevalent, may be turned back to the right path.

What the Holy See found itself able to do in order to help that destitute Diocese, it has not failed to accomplish by a magnificent donation of four thousand Roman *scudi*; I reckon you have received already one thousand through the Right Rev. William Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of London, through whom it seemed a surer way to send this money; I will attend shortly to the forwarding of the balance through the same channel.

³ We are not in possession of this report.

⁴ Clearly an allusion to the mission of Fathier De la Croix among the Osage Indians. See J. ROTHENSTEINER, *Early Missionary Efforts among the Indians in the Diocese of St. Louis*, St. Louis Catholic Hist. Review, 1920, p. 66 foll.

I have received copy of a letter supposed to be written by the Perret woman to Father Inglesi⁵; but even if the latter would try to

⁵ This is undoubtedly the letter of which Bishop Du Bourg gave the gist to Father Martial: "You will be glad to learn that these infamous machinations are the result of the most abominable intrigue; but God has permitted that the woman who played therein the leading role entered into herself, and made in writing to Father Inglesi, after the latter's departure from Rome, full confession of the whole matter. I have that letter in my possession. The main point of the intrigue is as follows: Father Inglesi had received \$10,000 from the Torlonia Bank in settlement of some family business, which sum of money was destined for the payment for his brother's inheritance. One of the clerks of the bank concocted a plan on the basis of this. He insinuated himself into the familiarity of Inglesi, showed him many courtesies and repeatedly offered his services; and as Fr. Inglesi expressed to him his desire of finding lodgings in a healthy and quiet part of the city, the fellow offered him board and lodging in his own home. Fr. Inglesi accepted, and had his belongings and his money carried there. A few days later the clerk in question absented himself on purpose one evening, after arranging with his wife that the latter was to go about 9 p. m. to Fr. Inglesi's apartment, do what she could to seduce him, and manage some way or other to remain with him until about 11 o'clock, when he himself would come as to catch them by surprise, and would frighten Inglesi into buying him off with all the money he had. Divine Providence permitted that, on that very evening Fr. Inglesi returned from town only a short while before 11. At once the woman went to his quarters, and whether on purpose or because she was horror-struck by her crime she fell upon a trunk, saying she was fainting. Just as Fr. Inglesi was rushing to his wardrobe for a bottle of cologne water, her husband came in in a great fury. However, he was somewhat disconcerted by what he saw, and hence manifested some embarrassment. Fr. Inglesi profited by this hesitation to skip out of the room and leave the house. Early in the morning he sent for his trunk, which the clerk refused to give; then, without delay, he (Inglesi), went to Card. Consalvi, who ordered the trunk to be given back to its owner. The scoundrel, whose plan was foiled, lost no time in spreading the slander, which was eagerly taken up, and received admittance even with many good people—for good people are often as credulous as others in regard to such stories. Such are the details confessed by that woman, whom remorse has prompted to trust in the generosity of Father Inglesi to give, if he wishes, publicity to this letter." (Archives of Propaganda. *Scrittura refenite nei Congressi*. Codice 7. In letter of Martial to Billard, October 20, 1822). It should be noted that, whilst the Cardinal's judgment remained in suspense in regard to the truth or untruth of this affair, Bishop Du Bourg had no such hesitation: "I am confident," he wrote to Father Martial, "that he (Inglesi) is fully justified."

Bishop Du Bourg, by the time he received this letter (probably some time in April, 1822) was long since acquainted with the misdemeanor of Fr. Inglesi in Rome, for Propaganda has reported it to him in a letter in date of September 22, 1821 (see next letter, XXIX). He evidently disbelieved entirely the report. At any rate, writing to Father Rosati on Easter Sunday (April 7), 1822, he spoke of Inglesi in the following terms: "Father Inglesi will bring us recruits. He is not a Bishop, neither does he wish to hear of it. He was sorry to have written to me a certain letter which I communicated to you. He announces he will be here about the beginning of the year (1823). I cannot tire of admiring his devotedness and zeal. But as you may imagine, this disappointment (clearly that Inglesi was not made a Bishop) causes me some uneasiness. But it matters not! God knows what is best. We ought not to lose courage." Four months later, and certainly after he had received this letter, speaking of the unecclesiastical behavior of Inglesi, and recommending watchfulness, his enthusiasm had not yet abated. On August 7 he wrote to Father Rosati: "Good news! Five or six subjects have just arrived from France for the Seminary. One of them is Subdeacon; the others have Minor Orders. There is, moreover, a Deacon, who, I believe, is ready

justify himself of the grave misdemeanor which is imputed to him (right or wrong, I know not), still, he exhibited other signs of levity and impropriety, both by taking part in dances and by a mode of dress in no way befitting an Ecclesiastic. For this cause, clever and most skillful in business though he be, yet I do not wish that your high estimate of him should dispense you from watching and from carefully investigating his character.

In regard to the division of your vast Diocese, the proposals made do not appear to have as yet attained maturity. One thing, however, should be attended to without delay, namely the fact that the Floridas are not taken care of, as Your Lordship has declared that, owing to the great distance of that territory, you are totally unable to look after it. Whatever course of action the S. Congr. resolves to take about the Floridas, I shall let you know at the first opportunity. Meanwhile I pray to God to keep Your Lordship yet many years, and in good health.

Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, January 11, 1822
To the Right Rev. William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans,
Louisiana.

St. Louis, Missouri.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

XXIX.

CARDINAL CONSALVI TO BISHOP DU BOURG.¹

No. 21.

Ill.me, ac R.me D. ne.

Jamdudum est, ex quo proposita fuit Ampli.ti Tuæ vastissimæ istius Dioecesis divisio; non enim in tanta dissitarum regionum amplitudine unus tantum Episcopus adauctorum Fidelium curam exercere facile potest; ideoque maxime profuturum visum est, si Dioecesis ista in tres saltem Ecclesias divideretur, quarum una inferiorem Luisianam, altera superiorem, tertia Floridas complecti posset. Cum vero nullum adhuc habitum fuerit abs te responsum, vereor, ne Sac.æ Cong.nis Litteræ ad te pervenerint. Quare Ampl.m Tuam rogo, ut quid de hujusmodi divisione sentias, mihi quantocius indicare velis; et quoties in ea, ut spero, convenias, mens esset Sacrae Cong.nis, ut, una ex iis a te

for Ordination. . . . This reinforcement which has just come to us from Europe is but the forerunner of another including four or five, perhaps even ten, priests. You understand that it is the indefatigable Father Inglesi who is sending them to me. I expect him towards the end of this year." The following month (September 6), very much the same note is sounded. "I am in a quandary in regard to St. Genevieve" (it was only a few days after the death of Father Pratte). "The thought came to my mind to keep that place for Father Inglesi. I have strong reasons for so doing."

¹ Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

retenta, duabus aliis praeficeretur vel D. Ludovicus Sibourd Vicarius tuus Gn.lis, cujus merita tantopere extulisti, et quem primo in tuum Coadjutorem postulasti, vel etiam D.nus Rosati, aut Dnus Rossetti, qui ita probati sunt, ut nulla in eos cadere videatur exceptio. Quoad D. Angelum Inglesi, accepisse te arbitror Sacrae Congnis litteras datas die 22. 7mbris elapsi anni, quibus certiozem te fecimus, quanto dedecore idem Romae se gesserit, ideoque non est, cur de illo promovendo jam cogites. Quod vero valde me angit, illud est, quod nobis ex Nova Aurelia nunciatum est, nimirum diffusa ibi voce, quod Amplitudo Tua illum sibi Coadjutorem adscire vellet, magnam in tota Luisiana perturbationem obortam, omnesque operarios ita animo cecidisse, ut aliqui ex ista provincia migraverint, alii vero, pristino posthabito studio, ac sollicitudine, remisse atque incurie se gerant. Quamobrem Ampl.m Tuam hortor in Dno, ut perniciosam hanc vocem dissipare cures, clerumque ad officium revocare, ne quod tanto labore, et cura aedificasti hac de causa ruat. Quod dum sedulo te praestitutum esse confido, Deum O. M. precor, ut Ampl.m Tuam diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Amplitudinis Tuae.

Romae ex aedibus Sacrae Congnis de Propaganda Fide die 27. Aprilis 1822.

Uti Frater studiosissimus,

H. Card. CONSALVI Pro Praef.

R. P. D. Ludovico Guillelmo Dubourg
Neo-Aurelianensi Episcopo in
America Septli.

S. Ludovicum in Territorio, Illinensi

C. M. Pedicini, Secrius.

TRANSLATION

Right Reverend Dear Sir:—

Some time ago was proposed to Your Lordship the division of your most extensive Diocese,² for the reason that in such a large territory with places far apart it is difficult for one Bishop to take care of the increasing number of the faithful; wherefore it was deemed that it would be for the interest of that Diocese if it were divided into at least three Churches, the one including Lower Louisiana, the second Upper Louisiana, and the third the two Floridas. As, however, no answer of yours has been as yet received, I am afraid that the letter of the Sacred Congregation failed to reach you. For this reason I beg Your Lordship to let me know as soon as possible your opinion about this division; and in case it is agreeable to you, as I hope, it is the intention of the S. Congregation that, while you shall keep one of these Churches, to the other two should be appointed either Fr. Louis Sibourd, your Vicar General, whose merit you have so much commended and whom you first asked

² Reference is here made obviously to Letter No. 15 of Propaganda in date of June 2, 1821 (ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. II, Nos. 2-3, pp. 141, foll.).

for your Coadjutor, or even Father Rosati, or Father Rossetti,³ who have given such proofs of their sterling qualities that no objection can be raised against them. In regard to the Rev. Angelo Inglesi, I reckon you are now in possession of the letter of this S. Congregation in date of September 22 last,⁴ in which we informed you of his improper demeanor in Rome; hence you must no longer be thinking of his promotion. One thing in this connection vexes me very sorely, namely that we heard from New Orleans⁵ that, as the rumor was spread there that Your Lordship wanted him as Coadjutor, a great deal of trouble arose throughout Louisiana, and all the missionaries were so downhearted that some left the Diocese, while others, forgetful of their former zeal and solicitude, became slack and careless in the discharge of their duties. Wherefore I earnestly beg you in the Lord to do everything in your power to suppress that evil rumor, and to recall the clergy to their duty, in order that what you have built up with so much pain and care may not, on this account, fall in ruins. Trusting that you will spare no efforts to this end, I pray Almighty God to keep Your Lordship yet many years, and in good health.

Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro-Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, April 27, 1822.

To the Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans,
North America. St. Louis of the Illinois.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

³ On Father John Mary Rossetti, see above, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 50, note 4; also below, the end of Letter XXXI.

⁴ This letter is not extant. It must have been the Propaganda Letter No. 18 or 19, which, as was noticed above (p. 147), are missing from the collection. The fact is that none of the documents dealing *ex professo* with the Inglesi affair have been preserved. Bishop Du Bourg either destroyed them, or else kept them in a secret place with other personal papers. Why he should have done so is easy enough to understand.

⁵ There can scarcely be any doubt that the information referred to here was furnished by Father Martial, who was in correspondence with one Billard, a friend of his at the French Embassy. Several letters of Martial to Billard, written with ultimate purpose that their contents should be made known to the ecclesiastical authorities, are preserved in the Archives of Propaganda. In one of them, dated July 13, 1822, Martial alludes to a former letter written some months before to Billard "for himself alone," for, as he adds: "I did not think you cared to communicate it, lest the friendship between Bishop Du Bourg and myself should be altered." This letter apparently had nevertheless been handed to Propaganda. At any rate Martial adds: "The opposition which manifested itself at the time when it became known he (Bishop Du Bourg) wished to have Father Inglesi for coadjutor rent his soul asunder to such an extent that he fulminated a Circular Letter to frighten the priests; but he was very sorry for it when he saw the effect it had produced; clever men may sometimes make great mistakes. There remains in the heart of some missionaries a wound which will be hard to heal. I tried, but in vain, to stop some from going away; they replied to me: 'One's first duty is to save one's self. Assure us that in exercising the ministry as we do here, we can save ourselves. . . .'" There can be no doubt that the infatuation of the Bishop for the clever young priest, and his well-known desires in regard to his promotion caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the clergy of Lower Louisiana.

XXX.

CARDINAL CONSALVI TO BISHOP DU BOURG.¹No. 24.²

Illme ac Rme Domine.

Perjucundae mihi fuerunt Litterae Tuae, ex quibus intellexi Ampdm Tuam ultro assentiri, ut tam Floridarum provinciae, quam Louisiana superior a Neo-Aurelianensi Dioecesi distractae, in novas erigantur Ecclesias. Tua enim accepi consilia, nimirum ut nova pariter Episcopalis Ecclesia instituatur in Oppido Sancti Laurentii, vulgo Detroit in Agro Michigan; et altera etiam in media Louisiana, quae Mississipi statum complectitur, et Arcansas, postquam A. T. ea omnia paraverit, quae ad constituendum ibi antistitem necessaria sunt; demum ut Nova Aurelia in Metropolim erigatur. Haec omnia Emorum PP. iudicio quamprimum subjienda curabo, et inde Ampdm Tuam de illorum sententia certiore facere non praetermittam. Petitam interim tibi adjungo renovationem facultatis, dispensandi scilicet in secundo cognationis gradu ad sexaginta casus extensam, nec non dispensationem in primo affinitatis gradu, quae ex Summi Pontificis indulgentia benigne concessa est pro Laurentio Millaudon et Maria Francisca Stella, ac te monens, ut conditionibus, quae in utroque documento appositae sunt, te accurate conformes, D. O. M. precor ut Ampdm T. diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampdnis Tuae

Romae ex Aedibus S. Cognis de Prpa Fide Die 28. Septembris, 1822.
Uti Frater studiosissimus

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro-Prf.

R. P. D. Guillelmo Du Bourg,
Epo Neo-Aurelianensi in
Louisiana. | Novam Aureliam |

C. M. Pedicini, Secrius.

TRANSLATION

Right Reverend Dear Sir:—

The greatest pleasure was afforded me by your letter³ from which I understand it to be perfectly agreeable to your Lordship that the State of Florida and Upper Louisiana⁴ be dismembered from the Diocese of

¹ Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

² Again two letters from Propaganda are missing. It may well be that one at least contained no more than the renewal of certain Episcopal faculties.

³ Card. Consalvi has unquestionably in view Du Bourg's letter dated February 8 of that same year, 1822, given in our last issue, pp. 148 foll.

⁴ With regard to the erection of a new Episcopal See in Upper Louisiana Bishop Du Bourg had, however, requested a delay—one year at the outside. The next letter informs us that shortly after advising Propaganda on February 8, of his consent to the dismemberment, he had retracted it. Evidently this subsequent communication had not yet reached Rome. Another was sent from St. Louis during the first days of September. Of this new letter the Bishop wrote to Rosati, on September 12: "I have written again to forestall the division of the

New Orleans and erected into new churches. I have taken good note of your recommendations, to wit: that a new Episcopal See should be likewise instituted in the town of St. Clair (Detroit) in the Territory of Michigan; and another in Central Louisiana, comprising the State of Mississippi and that of Arkansas, when Your Lordship has prepared in that district everything required for the establishment of a Bishop; also, that New Orleans be erected into an Archbishopric. I shall see to it that all these recommendations are submitted at the first opportunity to the judgment of Their Eminences, of whose opinion I will not fail to advise Your Lordship. Meanwhile I herewith enclose the renewal you asked of your faculty to grant dispensation of the second degree of relationship—this faculty extends to sixty cases—; I add also the dispensation of the first degree of affinity, kindly granted by the Sovereign Pontiff in favor of Lawrence Millaudon and Mary Frances Stella; and enjoining you to conform most exactly with the conditions marked in these two documents, I pray Almighty God to keep Your Lordship yet many years, and in good health.

Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro-Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, September 28, 1822.
To the Right Rev. William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans, Louisiana. New Orleans.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

XXXI.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.¹

Eminentissime Cardinalis:

Baltemorum urgentissimis meae Dioeceseos negotiis vocatus, ab Arch. nuper reduce, summo cordis dolore, audiui Rev. um Rosati ad administrationem Statuum Alabamae et Mississippi, cum titulo Episcopali a Sac. Cong. nominatum. Longius ab eo distans, nescio quae fuerit mentis ejus conditio, cum ad eum hujusmodi nuntius pervenerit; sed probe novi quis futurus sit hujus acceptationis effectus. Ruet in tota Louisiana Missionis Cong. quae jam ejus cura multum florescere coeperat, et cui nullus alius praeter eum adhuc praeesse potest. Ruet seminarium clericorum, unica spes immensae illius regionis; ad illam ruinam perculsi undequaque dispergentur Sacerdotes et alumni, quos ego tot sumptibus comparavi. Quod ad me spectat, videns conatus meos frustratos, sin dolore conficiat, certe desperatione tabescam. Oh!

Diocese, as premature. My letter is very strong. It is the fruit of the most serious reflections; and my soul is much quieter since I wrote it. A Coadjutor is all that we will need for a long time. Fortunately, even in case the division should already be made, I am sure that Fr. B. (who is this Fr. B.?) would not accept the appointment."

¹ Copy by Bishop Du Bourg's own hand (sent to Rosati in a letter to the same), in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

Eminentiss. Patres! quid fecistis? Quis vobis suasit hujus modi consilium, ut a pauperrimo Episc.o adimeretis ultimam et unicam suae spei anchoram? Episcopatum una hac lege susceperam, quod mihi Congregationis Miss. Sacerdotes in auxilium darentur. Duos solum qui eam in Dioecesi mea efformari possent accepi DD. de Andreis et Rosati. Unus morte ablatus est, et nunc alterum a me surripitis, postquam ego immensos labores et sumptus maximos in ipsorum Societatis foundationem absumpsi. Una die pereunt sudores et conatus septem annorum. Jam satis est; si ad effectum perducatur illa nominatio, nihil mihi amplius sperandum, nihil ultra moliendum. Sedens sedebo, lugens ruinam aedificij quod jam, Deo juvante, tanto labore meo assurgere coeperat. Sed quidni potius sperarem humillimis meis supplicationibus profusisque lacrimis movendas esse Eminentias Vestras? Certe cum agebatur Romae de subtrahendo a R.mo Ep.o Bardensi ipsius unico et praecipuo coadjutore Rev.o D.o David, quem ad Sedem Philadelphiensem promovere volebant, venerandi Praesulis exaudita sunt querelae. Mutata est mens Sac. Cong. et quem ab eo auferre cogitaverant, ipsi in Coadjutorem dederunt. Ita unione duorum illorum virorum in dies floret Bardensis Dioecesis. Eminentissimi Patres, meis precibus similiter annuetis. Ecce me prostratum habetis pedibus vestris, ejulatus edentem super contritione filiae populi mei; non surgam donec nominationem illam retractaveritis. Coadjutorem mihi date eundem Rev.um Rosati; et alio, quo placuerit, modo, providete Statibus Mississippi et Alabamae. Cur destruetur Louisiana ad fovendam alibi Ecclesiam, quae forsitan cum formari coeperit, similiter in foetu praefocabitur?

Sed attendant Eminentiae Vestrae sequentibus observationibus.

Florida Episcopali Sede procul dubio indiget, sed huic, propter propinquitatem annecti convenit Statum *Alabama*, in quo nunc pauci sunt Catholici, ferme omnes in oppido *Mobiliensi*. In Statu Mississippi, unica est cathol. cong., scilicet in civitate *Natchez*, triginta ad summum familiis constans, quae cum duorum solummodo dierum spatio a Nov. Aurelia distet, facillime potest ab Ep.o istius urbis, vel ab ipsius Vic.o gen. administrari. Praedictis duabus congregationibus, sive in *Natchez*, sive in *Mobili* jam provideram, optimo in utraque sacerdote constituto. Quid amplius faciet Administrator Episcopali caractere insignitus? Sed undenam ipse, non dicam dignitatis subsidium, sed communem victum comparabit, cum hi duo sacerdotes aegre ab illis catholicis sustentari possint?

Jam de erigenda Sede Floridiensi mecum pluries egit Sac. Cong. Huic propositioni non solum annui, sed eam saepius ipse suggesseram, ut testantur varia scripta mea, quae in scriniis Sac. Cong. forsitan asservantur. Non ita pridem mentem meam aperui de variis ad hujus sedis erectionem postulatis, et sacerdotem ad eam implendam proposui, nempe R.um Enochum Fenwick Marylandensem Soc. Jesu, alias Rev.issimi Arch. D.ni Joan. Carroll Vic. gen., nunc praesidem Collegii Georgiopolitani. His omnibus peractis, putabam finem mox illi negotio datum iri; sed mihi maximam admirationem fecit quod a Rev.mo Arch.o Maréchal nunc audio, nempe dubium Romae exortum fuisse utrum Florida meae an Havanensi Sedi pertineret, cum constet in Bulla erec-

tionis *Sedis Neo Aurelian.* (data 27 ap. 1793) eam ipsi, postulante Hisp.æ Rege, cum *expresso Havanensis Episcopi consensu*, annexam fuisse. Equidem post deditam Foederatis Statibus Louisianam, et translatum ab ea Episcopum Hispanum D. de Peñalver, Jussu Regis Hispaniarum, Episcopus Havanensis utpote vicinior, jurisdictionem in Floridas resumpserat, virtute, ut opinor, concordatorum inter illam coronam et Sanctam Sedem, quibus sancitum est ne unquam Episcop.s alienigena in ullam Hispani Dominii partem jus dicere valeat. Sed tandem Floridis Americanae jam Foederationi unitis, renunciavit dictus praesul, et suos ab eis sacerdotes retraxit. Nihil igitur remanet quod vel levissimo dubio locum dare queat, nihil quod erectionem illius Sedit debeat remorari, cum ego, solus earum partium Ordinarius, ipsi toto corde assentiam.

Rebus ita constitutis, supererit peragenda ulterior divisio meae Dioecesis, in duas partes, Inferiorem scilicet et Superiorem Louisianam. Jam, importunitatibus victus, consensum huc dederam, quem paulo post retractavi. In hac ultima mentis dispositione, gravissimis fretus rationibus, persevero, nempe quia nondum consolidatis foundationibus quas in utraque jacere coepi, praematura mihi videtur divisio et Religionis utilitati summe adversa. Haec in posteriori Epistola fusius explicavi, supplicans ut mihi daretur Coadjutor in partem immensi mei laboris. Si his annuat Sac. Cong. spondeo ante quinque annos omnia parata fore ad propositam divisionem, sin minus, certo sciat Sac. Cong. omnia in confusionem casura.

Jam vos pro Coadjutore D. Bruté Sacerdotem S.ti Sulpicii benemeritissimum postulaveram, verens ne D. Rosati, si ad illud munus eligeretur, a regimine suae Soc. arceretur. Nunc autem quoniam ad episcopatum iste jam nominatus est, peto ut posthabito D.o Bruté Ipse D. Rosati mihi Coadjutor assignetur, et simul Cong. suae praeesse pergat donec alius praesto sit, qui ipsi in hoc officio suffici valeat. Ita facili negotio, omnia conciliabuntur. In Superori Louisiana residens D. Rosati, quae suae Cong. et Seminarii sedes est, illam partem, Episcopali auctoritate, meo nomine administrabit, simulque nascentem Societatem suo sinu fovebit. Ego inferioris Louisianae praecipue curam gerens, simul exiguo gregi Mississipiensi providere pergam; demum Alabamæ et Floridarum Catholici proprium Episcopum habebunt.

De D.nis Sibourd et Rossetti quorum mentionem pluries fecit Sac. Congr. unum dicam: prior jam aetate proventus, et viribus fractus, polyptio insuper in naribus afflictus, Episcopatus laboribus penitus impar evasit. Posterior nulla neque corporis nec animi dote, huic dignitati unquam aptus fuit. Multo minus ex quo prorsus *amens* factus est, quod duobus retro annis summo omnium nostrum dolore et molestia evenit. Post annum itegrum in illo deplorabili statu transactum, ratione partim recuperata, non Religionis sensu, quem in amentia conspuerat, Mediolanum sua sponte regressus est ubi eum incolumem appulisse precor.

TRANSLATION

My Lord Cardinal:—

Being now in Baltimore, where I was called by most urgent affairs concerning my Diocese,² from the Archbishop just returned from abroad, I have heard, to my heart's most grievous sorrow, that the S. Congregation has appointed the Rev. Rosati to the administratorship, with the title of Bishop, of the State of Alabama and Mississippi.³ As I am far away from him, I know not what he will think when he receives this news⁴; but I know full well what will surely be the conse-

² The object which induced Bishop Du Bourg to undertake this journey is explained by him in a letter to Propaganda March 29, 1823. But before he started even with his friends he was scarcely ever more explicit than he is here as to his purpose. Thus, for instance, writing to Father Bruté from St. Louis on July 6, he said: "We shall have the opportunity to converse *os ad os*, for affairs of the highest importance will oblige me to visit your quarters this coming fall." (Original in *Catholic Archives of America*, Notre Dame, Indiana. Case *Bishops of New Orleans*). In his letters to Rosati we find no allusion to this intended journey; but, no doubt, the subject was discussed during the two visits made by the Bishop to the Barrens during the summer. The trip commenced rather ominously. From Bardstown, where he stopped a few days, Du Bourg wrote to Rosati on October 30: "So far I have had a most unpleasant trip; the roads were in a wretched condition, and the weather was abominable for several days, a circumstance which detained us three days in an inn. But it's an ill wind that blows no one good: this rain gave the Ohio water enough for the steamboats to run. I am sailing to-night for Wheeling, and, barring any mishaps, we expect to be in Baltimore sometime between the 10th and the 15th of November" (Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery). It was, by the way, during this stay of Bishop Du Bourg in Kentucky that for the first time was broached the subject of bringing to Missouri a colony of Sisters of Loretto. Here is what the Bishop says of this project, which was to come to realization the following year, on his trip back to St. Louis: "I noticed the great use which the Bishop (Bishop Flaget) is making of the Sisters, especially those of Father Nerinckx. And the thought came to my mind to ask some of these Sisters for the Barrens. These nuns would be a treasure of edification: they would teach the young girls and, moreover, they would supply the seminary with clothes, and all this practically at no cost, for they also do some farming. I did not wish to do anything without consulting you; if you wish to have them, talk it over with your parishioners, and write to Father Nerinckx. A few buildings would have to be put up for them, but I think that the parish would be glad to help you. The matter is worth thinking over.—Another great advantage which would accrue from these holy women is that, as they would multiply, we could find among them some for the domestic department of our colleges. The Bishop has seven of them in his establishment of Bardstown."

³ The Brief appointing Father Rosati was issued August 13, 1822. It was confided to the care of Archbishop Maréchal, then in Rome, who was to forward it, together with a number of other papers, to the Vicar Apostolic elect. It reached the Barrens on November 20, almost two weeks before Bishop Du Bourg heard of the appointment. Archbishop Maréchal seems to have had a great deal to do, if not with Rosati's appointment, at least with the creation of the new Vicariate Apostolic (See Manuscript *Life of Rosati*, quoted in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 13).

⁴ We know Rosati's feelings from a letter written by him to Father Baccari, V. G. of the C. M. at Rome, the very next day after he received the Brief of his appointment: "Yesterday evening I received your letters sent me through the Archbishop of Baltimore. The joy and delight first experienced on reading them have given place to the greatest affliction, which assailed me on unfolding a document from the S. Cong. of Propaganda despatched to me through the same channel, notifying me that I have been appointed Bishop *in partibus* and Vicar

quence, if he accepts. It is the downfall, in all Louisiana, of the Congregation of the Mission, which, under his care was beginning to flourish nicely, and at the head of which no one, besides him, can be put for the time being. It is the downfall of our Ecclesiastical Seminary, our only hope for this immense country; and this downfall will bring about the dispersion of excellently trained priests and of the pupils, whom I had secured at so great a price. As to me, seeing my endeavors frustrated, if I do not die of sorrow, I will at least languish in despondency.⁵ Oh! Your Eminences! What have you done? Who ever prompted you this advice to take from the poorest of Bishops the last and only anchor of his hope? I had accepted the Episcopate only on the condition that priests of the Congregation of the Mission would be given me to help me. I got only two capable to build up that Congregation in my Diocese, Father De Andreis and Father Rosati. One was taken away by death, and now you are depriving me of the other, when I have consumed immense labors and a great deal of money for the foundation of their Society. In one day are annihilated the fatigues and efforts of seven years. It is all over: if that appointment takes effect, there is nothing more for me to hope, nothing to attempt. Dejected I shall sit, bemoaning the ruin of the edifice which, with the help of God, my labors had begun to erect. But why should I not rather hope that my most humble supplications and my abundant tears shall move Your Eminences? It gives me courage to think that, when there was question in Rome of taking away from the Right Rev. Bishop of Bardstown his only and main co-laborer, Father David, then destined for the See of Philadelphia, the complaints of the venerable Prelate were graciously heard: the S. Congregation changed their minds, and the very man whom they had thought of taking from the Bishop was

Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama. That was "truly for me a thunderbolt. I did not hesitate for a moment to resolve to refuse a burden which is beyond my strength in every regard. To this end I warmly recommend myself to you, in order that you may obtain that the Holy Father and His Eminence Card. Consalvi grant me the favor of accepting my refusal." (*Archives of the Procurator General C. M., Rome. America*, p. ii, Monsig. Rosati, pp. 31-32; quoted in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III. No. 1, p. 14). The letters sent through Archbishop Maréchal, reached the Barrens before Du Bourg's letter of December 3, which was mailed only after Dec. 6.

⁵ To Father Rosati Bishop Du Bourg wrote (December 3): "I pray God to direct you in your answer; but in my opinion all is lost in the whole of Louisiana if the thing comes to effect. And, besides the damage caused to Religion, what an injustice to me! and what motive of despondency for all the Bishops! God preserve me from ever believing that this affair may be consummated! Did I believe it I would not go back to my Diocese, but I would go and tender my resignation at the feet of the Pope" (*Archives of St. Louis Archdioc., Chancery*). The thing, in so far as Rosati was concerned, was already settled: On November 26 the Bishop-elect had written to Card. Consalvi: "Knowing my strength, and feeling it to be absolutely unequal to bear the burden of the Episcopate, I cannot persuade myself that it is safe for me to assume it. Therefore, most instantly do I pray and beseech Your Eminence to spare my infirmity and to have somebody else appointed to the government of the churches of Mississippi and Alabama."

given him as Coadjutor. And thus, thanks to the union of these two men, the Diocese of Bardstown is flourishing more and more. Your Eminences, you shall likewise, I trust, accede to my prayers. Behold me prostrate at your feet, loudly moaning for the destruction of the daughter of my people: I shall not arise until you revoke this appointment. Give me for Coadjutor that same Father Rosati, and provide any other way you wish for the States of Mississippi and Alabama. Why should Louisiana be sacrificed in favor of another Church which shall perhaps, when it begins to take shape, be likewise ruthlessly strangled?

At any rate, may it please Your Eminences to take into consideration the following observations:

Florida, no doubt, needs an Episcopal See; but to that State it will be good to add, because of the nearness, the State of *Alabama*, in which there are now very few Catholics, practically all in the town of *Mobile*. In the State of Mississippi there is only one Catholic Congregation, namely in the city of *Natchez*; it consists of at most thirty families, and as it is only two days from New Orleans, it may be very easily looked after by the Bishop of this place, or by his Vicar General. As a matter of fact, I had provided for the two aforementioned parishes, namely of *Natchez* and of *Mobile*, by establishing in each of them an excellent priest. What more may do an Administrator with Episcopal character? Nay, wherefrom will he get, I shall not say wherewith to uphold his dignity, but simple maintenance, when these two priests can scarcely be supported by those Catholics?⁶

Several times already has the S. Congregation mentioned to me the erection of a See in Florida. This proposal, not only did I consent to, but in fact I had repeatedly suggested myself, as may be seen from various letters of mine possibly preserved in the Archives of the S. Congregation. Not long since I spoke quite plainly concerning several things demanded for the erection of that See, and even proposed a candidate for it, namely the Rev. Enoch Fenwick, S.J., from Maryland, former Vicar General of the Most Rev. Archbishop John Carroll, and now President of the College of Georgetown. After having done all this, I thought that this affair was to be finished shortly; but I am immensely surprised to hear from Archbishop Maréchal that doubts have been raised at Rome as to whether Florida belonged to my Diocese or to that of Havana. It is clear from the Bull of erection of the *See of New Orleans*, in date of April 27, 1793, that Florida was annexed to this See, at the request of the King of Spain, and *with the express consent of the Bishop of Havana*. True, after the sale of Louisiana to the United States, and the transfer from New Orleans of the Spanish Bishop, the Right Rev. De Peñalver, the Bishop of Havana, being the

⁶ On December 8, writing again to Father Rosati, the Bishop expressed himself somewhat more sharply on the same subject: "Truth to tell, I do not understand anything in the decisions of Propaganda. It seems to them they need only to appoint Bishops and to send them, without inquiring whether there are parishes to receive and support them, and without providing them with any means, even to work. What, pray, would you do as a Bishop in Mississippi and Alabama, and what would become of you there?"

nearest Bishop, resumed, by order of the King of Spain, jurisdiction over Florida, by virtue, I suppose, of the Concordats between the Spanish Crown and the Holy See, whereby it is enacted that no foreign Bishop can ever have jurisdiction over any part of the Spanish Dominion. But when finally Florida was added to the United States, the Bishop of Havana renounced his jurisdiction over it, and recalled his priests who were there. There remains, therefore, no room for the slightest doubt, no impediment capable of delaying the erection of that See, inasmuch as I, the sole Ordinary of that territory, am giving my hearty consent.

When this is settled, there will remain to effect the further division of my Diocese into two parts, to wit: Lower and Upper Louisiana. Already I had, yielding to importunities,⁷ given my consent to this division; shortly afterwards I retracted it.⁸ Very grave reasons urge me to remain in the latter disposition of mind, and the reason is that, as the foundations I have started in both parts of the Diocese are not yet well grounded, the division appears to me premature and most prejudicial to the interests of Religion. These motives I explained at length in my last letter,⁹ begging that a Coadjutor be given me to share in my immense labors. If this request is granted by the S. Congregation, I promise that within five years everything will be in shape for this intended division; but should my request be turned down, the Sacred Congregation may consider it as certain that everything will be thrown into confusion.

In a former letter I asked that Father Bruté, a Sulpician priest of the highest merit, be given me for Coadjutor,¹⁰ as I was afraid that if Father Rosati were appointed he would be taken away from the superiority of his society. But now that he has already been designated for the Episcopate, I ask that he be given the preference over Father Bruté for the Coadjutorship,¹¹ and may continue at the same time to

⁷ It must be confessed that Du Bourg's letter of February 8, 1822 (ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. II, p. II, p. 148 foll.), does not leave the impression he was then "yielding to importunities." His words are worth recalling: "As to the erection of another See in the City of St. Louis, Missouri, no one certainly can be pleased with it and desire it more than myself (*nulli certe magis quam mihi ipsi arridere et in votis esse debet*), as it means for me relief from immense labors and cares. Still, there is one reason why I delay asking at once for it namely, the most earnest desire I have to free from all debts and obligations certain quite extensive properties which I have bought as an endowment for that See: I trust that, God helping, I may within a year reach this happy goal. When this is accomplished, I shall most gladly resign this part of my solicitude into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff (*libentissime tunc partem illam meae solitudinis in manus Summi, Pontificis resignabo*), hesitating at no sacrifice in order. . . ."

⁸ We do not know when this change of views was manifested the first time; it was pointed out above that the Prelate wrote again in that sense from St. Louis in the first days of September.

⁹ The one just alluded to in the preceding Note (September, 1822).

¹⁰ When this proposal was made to Rome, we do not know, but we do know from the Bishop's letters to Bruté, that he was anxious to have him come west.

¹¹ In view of this and of the many proposals made to Rome at different times in regard to the Coadjutorship since the question was first agitated, one

be Superior of his Congregation until someone else may take his place in this office. This is an easy way of reconciling every interest. Father Rosati, residing in Upper Louisiana, where are the headquarters of his Congregation and the Seminary, will administer, in my name, with Episcopal authority, that portion of the Diocese, while at the same time he will foster the progress of the infant society. I, on the other hand, shall principally take care of Lower Louisiana, and continue to provide for the little flock in Mississippi; finally, the Catholics of Alabama and Florida will have their own Bishop.

Touching Fathers Sibourd and Rosetti, who were repeatedly mentioned by the S. Congregation I have only this to say: The former, who is now advanced in years and infirm, is, moreover, afflicted by a polyp of the nose, so that he has become quite incapable to stand the work of the Episcopate. As to the latter,¹² he never had the bodily and mental qualifications fitting one for that dignity. Still less since he has become *insane*, a calamity which, to the extreme sorrow and annoyance of us all, occurred two years ago. After one full year of this deplorable condition, as he recovered partly his reason, but not the sense of Religion, which in his period of madness he had cursed, he determined to return to Milan, where, I trust, he arrived safely.

cannot help feeling the good Bishop was slightly overstating the truth when he wrote to Rosati from Washington on February 6, 1823: "The ill-wind will blow us some good, if all these transactions bring you to the point whither I have been—unknown to you—working steadily to lead you. I then received a formal refusal; no motives were alleged. . . . Your actual promotion cannot but end as I desire." (Original in *Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery*).

¹² See ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 50, Note 4; also above, Letter XXIX; already from St. Louis, two months before, October 1, Bishop Du Bourg had written (we have only a short excerpt from this letter taken in 1882 by Father Van der Sanden: this is the reason why we have not assigned to these few lines a place and number apart in the correspondence): "To discharge this office (of Coadjutor) the Rev. L. Sibourd is now too old and broken down. As to Father Rossetti, from Milan, the fact that the Sacred Congregation has twice already proposed him to me as Coadjutor is clear enough evidence that this priest is very little known to it. Indeed, besides being disgraced by a deformity of body which would make the mere sight of him an object of ridicule to our Americans, he is woefully devoid of all culture, either profane or ecclesiastical, and incapable to speak either French or English. But, what is still worse, two years ago, to the extreme sorrow and annoyance of us all, he became completely insane believing he was the king of England, and forgetful of all rules of decency and Religion. Finally, after a whole year spent in this deplorable condition, as he partly recovered his reason, he wished to go back to his native country, where I hope he must, at the time of this writing, have arrived safely." In *Catholic Historical Review* (Vol. III, No. 1, p. 10), part of this letter was quoted and assigned the date October 1, 1821; this is a misprint, and should be read 1822.

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